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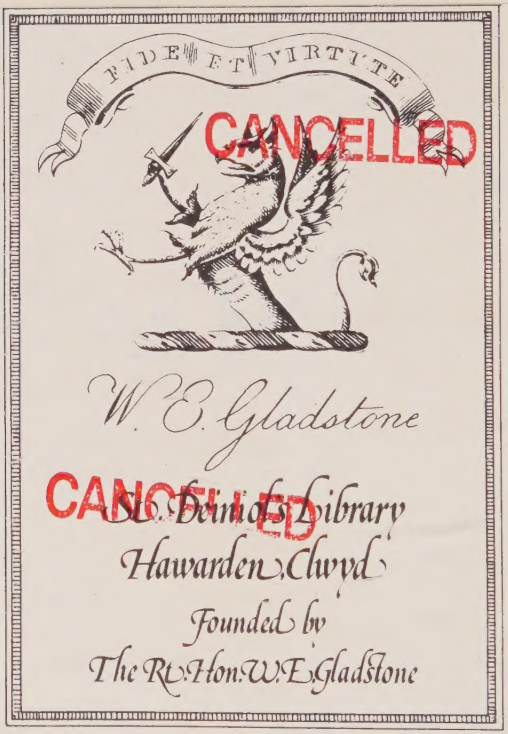

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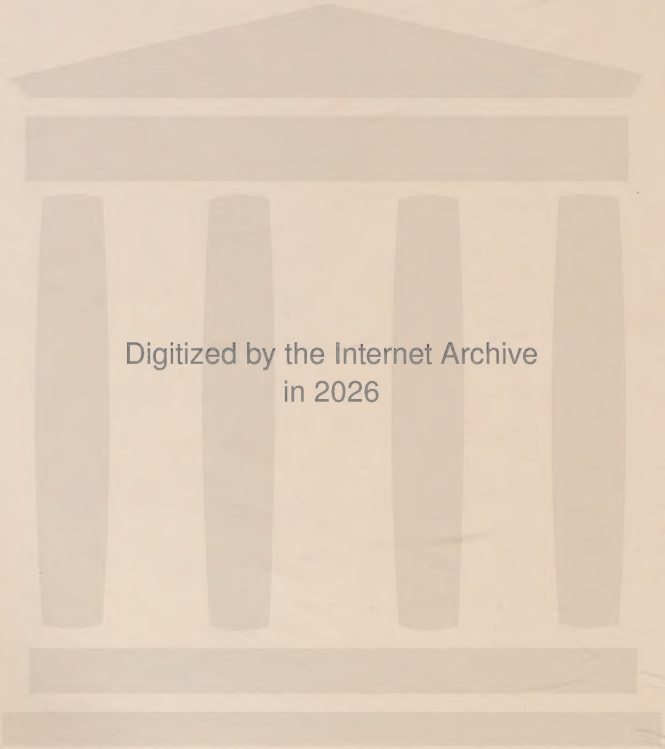
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OLD TESTAMENT ESSAYS

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OLD TESTAMENT ESSAYS

BY

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CAMBRIDGE

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To

EMILY AUGUSTA KENNETT

BERTHA LUCY KENNETT

and

MARY CECILIA DOMNEVA KENNETT

this little volume is gratefully
dedicated

Preface

THE essays contained in this volume, which have been composed independently at various dates during the past seven years, are here collected in the hope that they may serve to some extent to illustrate the development of the religion of Israel. In general I have found no reason to modify that theory of the origin of the Old Testament which I set forth in the article "Israel" in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, and I have therefore aimed here merely at shewing in further detail a number of facts which, at least in my judgement, fit in with, and confirm, that theory. No attempt is here made to state or discuss theories which seem to me to be based on wrong premisses. Correct analysis of the Old Testament and reconstruction of its history must take account of a critical examination of many statements and hints scattered over its several books. I have therefore deemed it advisable to give in the text the references to the relevant passages of scripture, instead of relegating them to the margin, and, irksome as such a task may be, I would plead for a careful consideration of them as essential to a just estimate of what I have set forth.

Every student of the Old Testament is indebted to many predecessors, and it is often no easy matter for him to gauge the amount of such indebtedness. It is a pleasure to acknowledge here my own immeasurable obligation to Dr E. R. Bevan in particular. His work has thrown a flood of light on that period in which, as I believe, many of the most important parts of the Old

Testament were composed, and in which the religion of Israel reached its highest development.

My thanks are also due to my wife for the list of references to passages of scripture quoted, to my sister, Miss B. L. Kennett, for the general index, and to my daughter for acting as amanuensis.

R. H. KENNETT

ELY
29 *June* 1928

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ERRATUM

p. 20, last line: *for* northern *read* southern

i

THE EARLY NARRATIVES OF THE JAHVISTIC DOCUMENT OF THE PENTATEUCH

§ I

PENTATEUCHAL criticism in the past, especially in regard to the earlier documents of which the Pentateuch is composed, has suffered from a serious defect, the very existence of which has been scarcely noticed. In spite of the remarkable acumen displayed in analysis, one question, and that of primary importance in the study of all passages of the Old Testament which relate the history of the past, has commonly been left unasked, or, if asked, unanswered: viz. Why did the author or authors select certain traditions and discard others? No one supposes that the Jahvistic document, for example, comprises all the traditions which were current in Judæa. It was, indeed, pointed out by Wellhausen long ago that the story of the Flood was not contained in the first draft of J: yet, on the assumption that this story as told in J is of Babylonian origin, it is, nevertheless, evident that it had been a folk-tale in Palestine for centuries before it was incorporated in J, and it is extremely unlikely therefore that the original author (or authors) of J was altogether unacquainted with it. If then in the first compilation of the traditions of the past the Flood legend was deliberately rejected, and afterwards incorporated, there must have been some reason for its incorporation; and knowing the methods of Hebrew teachers we may safely infer that it was inserted later because it was considered in its teaching to meet a

situation which had not arisen when the original draft had been drawn up. What that situation was will be considered later; for the present it is sufficient to insist that the Hebrew writers did not collect folk-tales from any antiquarian or literary motives, but simply because they considered them stories to illustrate the political or religious ideas which they desired to inculcate.

It has long been recognised that J originated in Judah: but since the population of the kingdom of Judah, like that of Northern Israel, was by no means homogeneous, and the various elements were not completely amalgamated even after the union of the tribes under a single king,[1] it is probable that what we may call the unification of tradition was a slow process, and that it was by no means complete when the tribal legends first took shape in a literary form.

In one respect J exhibits a very remarkable difference from the Elohistic document E. Whereas the latter represents the religion of Jehovah as unknown both to Moses himself before the theophany on Horeb and to the people to whom Moses is sent (Ex. iii. 13 ff.), J is unaware that there has been any interruption in the worship of Jehovah since the most ancient times. In J the people led by Moses already have priests when they arrive at the sacred mountain, Sinai (Ex. xix. 22). Moreover, the tribes in which J shews great interest are those who were never numbered among the Hebrews in Egypt, and who evidently regarded themselves, if not as αὐτόχθονες, at any rate as having been settled in the districts which they occupied from very remote ages. J, needless to say, has the tradition of the Egyptian bondage, and of the Exodus from Egypt; but this tradition, which doubtless belongs to the tribe of Judah proper, seems to have been grafted on to the traditions of Kenites and other South Palestinian tribes. The graft, to continue the metaphor, has flourished and has

[1] Thus for example Nabal is a Calebite (1 Sam. xxv. 3, cf. xxx. 14).

grown into a great tree; but those who look beneath the springing of the branches can see that the stock is of a different species, and had for very long been well rooted before the application of the graft.

The popular conception of Old Testament history credits the Israelites with a most remarkable sentimental attachment for places connected with their remote ancestors, and this in spite of the fact that they are supposed to have had no personal knowledge of those places. Thus according to the popular theory, although Jacob was in ill odour with the Canaanites (Gen. xxxiv. 30), the place at Bethel where Jacob had once received a divine revelation continued to be so well known *in the absence of all the descendants of Jacob*, that it was possible, after the Exodus, to found an Israelite sanctuary there. Similarly the sanctuary founded at Hebron by the still more remote Abraham appears as a sanctuary in the time of David. Obviously these sanctuaries were not refounded by Israelites from a merely sentimental regard for episodes in the history of their patriarchal ancestors known to them by tradition, but *had been sanctuaries continuously from a remote past.*

But if Hebron and Bethel as well as other sanctuaries connected with the patriarchal legends, e.g. Beersheba, Penuel, Shechem, Gilgal, were Canaanite[1] holy places during the Israelite sojourn in Egypt, and the traditions of the Mosaic Hebrews were grafted on to the traditions current there from time immemorial, we have not only an explanation of the existence of these places as sanctuaries under the Hebrew monarchy, but it is also evident that in order to understand the history and religion of Israel, we must most carefully scrutinise the legends connected with these ancient sanctuaries.

It is a most remarkable fact that in the districts occupied by *Judah proper* (see Wellhausen, *History of*

[1] The term is used here in a wide sense to denote those who were not connected with the Hebrews whom Moses led.

Israel, Eng. tr. p. 443; Hastings, *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, art. *Israel*), we read of no important sanctuaries: Hebron and Beersheba, although *subsequently* included in Judæan territory, lying outside the district originally occupied by the tribe. Doubtless *many* places had altars (e.g. Bethlehem, 1 Sam. xvi. 2 ff.); but no patriarchal or pre-Israelite traditions of their origin have been incorporated in the Old Testament.

The history of Beersheba is somewhat obscure. It was apparently connected in ancient times with northern Israel rather than with Judah; for in the time of Amos it seems to have been a place of pilgrimage for inhabitants of the northern kingdom (Amos v. 5, viii. 14), and a similar inference may be drawn from 1 Kings xix. 3. Saul's campaign against Amalek (1 Sam. xv.) *may* have been undertaken in defence of Beersheba.[1]

But although it is probable that Beersheba was once a sanctuary of considerable importance,[2] it is remarkable that it commonly appears merely as the southernmost limit of what was claimed to be the land of Israel; and it is therefore not improbable that, like the northern Dan, it was not quite continuously in Israelite possession. Hebron, however, the only other important sanctuary of Judah before the conquest of Jerusalem, was more favourably situated, and Hebronite tradition was less liable to perish than the legends connected with Beersheba.

Further, Hebron was the seat of David, the first Judæan king, until the taking of Jerusalem in the seventh year of his reign; and in what we are told of Hebron at this period, although it had been greatly obscured by

[1] The fact that the Jebusites apparently held Jerusalem during Saul's reign does not compel us to regard the campaign against Amalek as altogether unhistorical, though Amalek was by no means exterminated as the result of it. There is no hint that the Jebusites held much territory, and their seizure of Jerusalem may have been comparatively recent when David became king.

[2] Thus Isaac who is chiefly connected with Beersheba (Gen. xxvi. 23 ff.) appears as the ancestor of the nation in Amos vii. 9, 16.

subsequent additions, we have the clue to the understanding of the Jahvistic document. We might reasonably infer—human nature being what it is—that the transference of David's residence from Hebron to Jerusalem gave great offence to the Hebronites, even if we could find no hint of such a thing in the Old Testament. As a matter of fact, however, we have such a hint, and a pretty plain one, in the story of Absalom's rebellion. As that story now stands, Absalom was at the head of a general rebellion against David. No one in his senses however, who wished to stir up the northern tribes against David, would have made Hebron his headquarters; and the fact that Absalom was proclaimed king there is an indication that he took advantage of Hebronite discontent to set himself up against his father. The original story of his rebellion has been combined with another account of a rebellion of the northern tribes, or of some of them, probably led by a member of the house of Saul.

But this unmistakable hint of the Hebronite jealousy of Jerusalem furnishes us with a clue to the problem of the origin of J. It is remarkable that whereas J undoubtedly took shape at least a fairly long time after the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, it does not contain a hint of the existence of any such place. The Chronicler indeed (2 Chron. iii. 1) identified the threshingfloor of Araunah or Ornan the Jebusite, which in the late appendix to 2 Samuel (xxiv. 16 ff.) is stated to have been the site of the later Temple, with the land of Moriah (Gen. xxii. 2),[1] but this identification appears to be a very late fancy.[2] In view of the way in which

[1] The only hint of the situation of the altar where Isaac was to be sacrificed is that after two full days' journey, on the third morning, Abraham saw it still a good way off. This would suit Bethel.

[2] Such an identification can scarcely have been current when Gen. xiv was written, and it is noteworthy that the theophany which consecrated the site of the Temple is represented as made to *David and not to a patriarch*.

stories of the origin of sanctuaries, and of their founders, grow, it is remarkable that there is no suggestion in J that a theophany had been vouchsafed at Jerusalem to any patriarch; and this is easily explicable if Hebron was jealous of Jerusalem and regarded it as an upstart rival.

We can readily imagine therefore with what indignation the Hebronites saw their ancient sanctuary destroyed and their priests dispossessed in the eighteenth year of Josiah. Possibly a similar thing had been attempted by Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii), but if so the reforming movement had lasted but a little while, and in the reign of Manasseh there had been a return to the *status quo ante*.

So long as a great sanctuary remained there was little likelihood of its traditions being forgotten, for in addition to the priests, there appear to have been guilds of prophets in the neighbourhood of, if not attached to, the greater sanctuaries (cf. 2 Kings ii. 3, 5, iv. 38; 1 Sam. x. 5); and therefore at every such sanctuary there would be a constant tradition of those tribal legends which were connected with the people who worshipped there. Accordingly till the year 621 B.C. there was no need to collect in writing the legends which had been told from time immemorial to the people who inhabited the southern portion of the kingdom of Judah. But with the closing of Hebron there would be a dispersal, not only of the priests, but of whatever guild of prophets was settled in the neighbourhood; for, when there were no more pilgrims to Hebron, the alms on which the prophets lived must have been sadly reduced. But it would be hard for such people to believe that the end really had come; and just as through the reign of Edward VI there were many in England who hoped for the restoration of the state of things which had existed before the Reformation, so there must have been many who had once worshipped at Hebron, who hoped

for its reopening. We know that the prophet Ezekiel did not begin to write down the ordinances of the Temple at Jerusalem till he had been in exile twenty-four years, having hoped probably till then that the return would shortly take place; in like manner it is probable that the prophets who had been connected with Hebron began the collection in writing of Hebronite traditions only when they perceived that there was little immediate prospect of Josiah's reform being undone.

Since, however, many find it hard to believe that the Jahvistic document can be as late as the time of Jeremiah, it will be well at this point to consider whether there is any evidence of its existence at an earlier date. We are concerned, be it remembered, not with the antiquity of the traditions—which nobody doubts—but of their *existence in writing* in the form in which we possess them.

In the first place then it is to be noted, as was pointed out by Wellhausen, that Abraham is never mentioned by any pre-exilic prophet; and in view of the prominence of Abraham in J this is significant. Further, whereas Amos mentions Isaac, and Hosea is familiar with legends of Jacob, there is nothing in either prophet to suggest reference to a written document. Indeed Hosea xii. 4, if the story referred to be originally the same as that in Gen. xxxii. 24–30, is certainly not directly based on the latter passage. Micah vi mentions Moses, Aaron, Miriam, Balak and Balaam; but there is nothing to shew that it is the story of these people contained in the Pentateuch to which the prophet appeals. Moreover, whereas in J sacrifice is taken for granted as something existing from the beginning, and is definitely ordered at the exodus from Egypt, in Amos, Hosea, Micah and Jeremiah we find denunciation of sacrifice which it is impossible to reconcile with the supposition that J already existed with a quasi-canonical authority. There

is no attempt on the part of these prophets to meet the obvious difficulty which people must have felt if J had been already accepted. The author of Micah vi—whether Micah himself or a slightly later prophet is immaterial for our present purpose—after entreating people to remember the events of the exodus from Egypt, goes on to repudiate every form of sacrifice, and asks, "What does Jehovah require of thee, etc.?" without any suspicion that it will be possible for anyone to refute him from a written document which states that Jehovah has not only shewn His appreciation of sacrifice from the beginning, but has even definitely commanded it.

In the book of Jeremiah however, the earliest part of which was only published *in writing* in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, we are conscious of a difference. It is not that Jeremiah is less vehement against the sacrificial cult than his predecessors among the canonical prophets, but, whereas they seem to ignore the possibility of any one's attempting to affirm that sacrifice was commanded to Israel at the Exodus, Jeremiah appears to be conscious that in his days such a claim is being made. The words "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices" *imply*, though perhaps they do not prove, that Jeremiah's polemic is directed against those who claim for sacrifice that it was commanded at the Exodus. And that a *written document* purporting to be the *tôrā*, i.e. teaching, of Jehovah was in existence before the fourth year of Jehoiakim is certain from Jer. viii. 8, "How say ye, We are wise, and the teaching of Jehovah is with us? But, behold, a false pen of scribes hath wrought falsely".

The indignant declaration that a lying pen of scribes has wrought falsely can only be accounted for, if it refers to a document of recent origin, and it is perfectly intelligible if J took shape between 621 and 604 B.C.

Its ready acceptance by the common people[1] in Jerusalem and northern Judæa is easily explicable if it be remembered that Josiah had brought to Jerusalem the priests from all the Judæan sanctuaries which he had closed (2 Kings xxiii. 8) and that he was forcing upon an unwilling people the abolition of superstitious practices which they desired to retain, and which are mentioned in the Jahvistic document without reprobation.[2]

If then the first draft of J was written between 621 and 604 B.C. and was in effect a counterblast to Josiah's reformation, its subsequent history is explicable. It is probable that of those who were carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar the majority belonged to Jerusalem and northern Judah where the influence of the dynasty of David would be most strong, and among whom the prestige of the Temple at Jerusalem would be greatest. Those who remained behind, Jeremiah's "bad figs" (Jer. xxiv), would consequently be those to whom the Jahvistic document J, with its record of the unreformed popular religion, made the strongest appeal. It is probable that J was *known* at Jerusalem for several years before the death of Jehoiakim, but that it was only generally accepted—though not of course by the school of Jeremiah—after the "good figs" had been carried away to Babylon.

It has been stated above that the first draft of J did

[1] It is unlikely that the Zadokite priests accepted J. Had they done so they would have stultified themselves, for they could not in that case consistently have opposed the admission of the country priests to the priesthood at Jerusalem. There were doubtless also others to whom much contained in J would have been objectionable. These were among the "good figs" who were the first to be transported to Babylon.

[2] Thus J mentions a *k̇ᵉdēshā* (Gen. xxxviii. 21). Compare the mention of *k̇ᵉdēshîm* (2 Kings xxiii. 7). The law (Ex. xxxiv. 19) makes no distinction between the firstborn of men and beasts, and the injunction to redeem the former is clearly a rider added later. Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

not contain the story of the Flood,[1] and indeed, as will be shewn later, the introduction of that story caused a considerable modification of the original document. If we may suppose that it was not included in J till after the transportation of many of the inhabitants of Jerusalem to Babylon, we can discover a motive for its inclusion. Viewed as a parable, the story of the Flood describes the annihilation of those who were displeasing to Jehovah, and the repeopling of the land by those whom He favoured. In view of the Old Testament doctrine of retribution, it is pretty certain that those who were not carried away to Babylon would regard themselves as at any rate less under Jehovah's displeasure than those who were in exile; and, indeed, we are told that they arrogantly declared that the land had been given to them (Ezek. xxxiii. 24). They were, it is true, miserably poor, and probably some of the land went out of cultivation. There was, therefore, good reason to encourage the peasantry who remained not to leave the land and take refuge in Egypt, but rather, like Noah and his family after the Flood, to make a new beginning, inasmuch as Jehovah's wrath was now abated, so that henceforth seedtime and harvest would never cease.

§ II

In considering the origin of the Jahvistic document J as it existed before its combination with E, it has been necessary to depart somewhat from the natural order. We must now consider the early narratives contained in the unmodified first draft. And here, the Flood story being eliminated, we are at once struck by the fact that the Jahvist is not conscious of any

[1] The legend of the Flood was doubtless known in Judah long before this date. Ezekiel mentions Noah as one whose story is familiar, but does not mention the Flood in connexion with him.

violent break in the history of the tribes inhabiting the southern part of the kingdom of Judah, whom, indeed, he regards as having occupied this district from time immemorial. So much is this the case, that their history is linked on to the folk-tales relating the origin of the human race, their eponymous ancestors being represented as directly descended from the first man and his wife Eve. It is an arbitrary proceeding to distinguish the Cain and Seth of Gen. iv from the same names in Num. xxiv. 17, 21; 1 Sam. xv. 6, xxvii. 10; Judges iv. 11; moreover, the author of Gen. iv. 16–26 certainly supposed that he was giving the genealogy of existing tribes.[1]

This, however, brings us to the question: If the Kenites and their offshoots were regarded as having been settled in their territory from the remotest antiquity, where was the Garden of Eden supposed to have been situated? Clearly, as Gen. ii now stands, it must be looked for on the east of the great Syrian desert. This chapter, however, has had insertions made in it since the first draft was written, and there is more than one indication that the location of the Garden of Eden in Babylonia was not contemplated by the original author. In the first place, according to Gen. iii. 24, the cherubim who barred the way to the tree of life were stationed on the *east* of the Garden of Eden: the Garden therefore lay to the *west* of the district subsequently inhabited by the man and his wife. Secondly, when Cain (i.e. the Kenites) goes out from the presence of Jehovah (i.e. *some place where there was a sanctuary of Jehovah*: cf. the previous reference to sacrifice) he dwells on the *east of Eden*. The natural inference therefore is that ancient tradition located Eden *west* of the district over which roamed the tribes having affinity with the Kenites.

[1] It must not be forgotten that J's account of the tribes of southern Judah took shape before the northern movement of the Edomites, whereas the Chronicler's account of the Judæan families was drawn up when the northern frontier of Idumæa was in the neighbourhood of Hebron.

Further, since a description of the way in which the Garden of Eden was watered is necessary if as yet there is no rain,[1] the statement of *v.* 10 that a river came out of Eden[2] (not necessarily out of the Garden) to water the Garden[3] is in perfect harmony with the foregoing narrative (*v.* 6 being, as shewn above, a later addition). On leaving the Garden, the river is said to have "parted and become four heads". Scientific accuracy is not to be looked for in a story of this sort; but even the most primitive of men know which way water flows, and the natural meaning of the words is not that four rivers met at the Garden, and thence flowed to the sea in one channel, but that a single river divided there and flowed onward in four channels. The only river likely to be known to the Jahvist which agrees with this description is the Nile, though instead of seven mouths only four are here mentioned; and indeed that Gihon means the Nile was believed at least as early as the translation of the book of Jeremiah into Greek, שִׁחוֹר (ii. 18) being rendered by Γηών. The identification of the Garden of Eden with some place in Egypt is further made probable by Gen. xiii. 10, where Zoar is probably merely a scribe's blunder for Shur (cf. Gen. xvi. 7).[4]

Moreover, whereas the story of Genesis iii has not been found in the Babylonian mythology, it has points of resemblance with certain African folk-tales (see

[1] Gen. ii. 6 is quite inconsistent with the previous verse, which states that nothing was growing because there was no rain. If the ground was otherwise watered this statement is pointless.

[2] It is to be noted that Eden is the name of the whole district in which the Garden was situated. The Garden was in the eastern part of the district. Gen. ii. 8 is wrongly translated in R.V. It implies not that the Garden was "out east" and that in Eden, but that it was *in Eden and in the eastern part of it.*

[3] The description of a rainless land watered by a single river is natural enough if it originated in the eastern desert of Egypt.

[4] Ezekiel (xxviii. 13, xxxi. 8, 9, 18) has a tradition of a Garden of Eden, but he apparently uses the phrase only metaphorically. He cannot have located the Garden at Tyre.

Frazer, *The Worship of Nature*, vol. I. chap. v.). Palestine is the meeting-place of African and Asiatic culture; and although Babylonian influence was strong in Palestine in the third millennium B.C., an extremely primitive folk-tale like that of Gen. iii derived from a people who had come from Africa—as, not improbably the earliest Semites did—may well have survived among the nomad races of the Negeb who would be little exposed to Babylonian influence.

Further, with this identification of Eden with a district of Egypt the rest of the pre-Abrahamic tradition hangs together. The Kenites with their offshoots had a tradition that their ancestors had come from the south-west, and that they had been compelled to leave the cultivated land[1] and to settle in the wilderness: and they looked to Egypt as the land where their fathers had once lived. It is *implied* (Gen. iv. 14, 16) that the Kenites were of a different religion, or at any rate did not worship at the same sanctuary as the races from which they had separated. There is nothing in the Jahvistic document to indicate where the Sethites are supposed to have settled. From Num. xxiv. 17 f. we should suppose that they had been located between Moab and Edom. Perhaps they became incorporated with the Edomites. It may be inferred from Gen. iv. 25 f. that in the original draft of J the Sethites were more prominent than might be supposed from the portion still extant.[2]

[1] Cain's complaint, "Thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the ground", can have no other meaning. אדמה is *land which can be cultivated.*

[2] This is probable from the fact that the beginning of the invocation of Jehovah by that name is ascribed to Enosh the son of Seth. It may be pointed out that in making the serpent and Eve use the word *God* and not *Jehovah* the writer is perfectly consistent. In his opinion the worship of Jehovah only began in the days of Enosh. The use of the Tetragrammaton in iv. 1 may be a scribe's blunder, but the text is somewhat doubtful and there may be an omission.

It has been pointed out that the original draft of J did not contain the Flood story. Further it is to be noted that whereas the offshoots of the Kenites are in the main *nomads*, though there is mention of a *city* Enoch (Gen. iv. 17), we have a description of the beginning of *agriculture* in ix. 20. This, as the text now stands, is associated with Noah; but there are indications in the passage that it has been altered since it was first drawn up; for why should Ham's name be omitted from the poetical fragment put into the mouth of Noah, and why should an offence committed by Ham be visited on his youngest son? It is probable that if the Flood story was not originally included, there was no mention of its hero Noah, and if this be the case the poetical fragment in Gen. ix. 25–27, which is unsuitable in the mouth of Noah, must originally have been put into the mouth of somebody else, and we have to discover who it was. Now it is to be noted that P's genealogy of Noah, and consequently of Shem, Ham and Japheth, traces their descent from Enoch—of whom it is stated (v. 22, 24) as of Noah (vi. 9) that "he walked with God"—through Lamech who is said to have been Noah's father (v. 28 f.). But there is here introduced into P's genealogy an explanation of the name of Noah which is not only in the style of J (cf. iv. 1, 25, etc.), but refers to the cursing of the ground mentioned in iii. 17. This explanation of the name Noah now appears as uttered by Lamech, and if we could be sure that in its *original* context in J it was also a speech of Lamech's, we should have no hesitation in concluding that the person in whose time the curse on agriculture was to be removed belonged to the Cainite (Kenite) genealogy. Certainly there is no difficulty in the supposition that the author of P boldly altered the parentage of Noah: for though the *number* of the antediluvian patriarchs as given in P is probably due to a Babylonian source or tradition, the *names* from Adam to Lamech appear to

be derived from a combination of the Cainite and Sethite genealogies contained in J—thus:

P	J
Adam	Adam
Seth	Seth
Enosh	Enosh
Kenan	Cain
Mahalaleel	Enoch
Jared	Irad
Enoch	Mehujael
Methuselah	Methushael
Lamech	Lamech

It is very improbable that the Sethite genealogy ended with Enosh; for the statement that after the birth of Enosh Jehovah was invoked by name *implies* that the worship of Jehovah continued in the time of Enosh, just as the nomadic life continued in the time of Jabal, and craftsmanship in metal in that of Tubal-Cain, etc. Certainly there is no hint of the worship of Jehovah in the time of Cain or among his immediate descendants; and Cain's statement that he is driven out from the presence of Jehovah (Gen. iv. 14; cf. 16) naturally means that in the district occupied by the Cainites (Kenites) there was no sanctuary of Jehovah.[1]

It seems therefore reasonable to conclude that,

[1] If Ex. xviii. 9–11 is, as is supposed by Carpenter and Battersby, a fragment of J, the name Hobab has been corrected to Jethro. A similar correction, not consistently carried out, may be seen in Ex. ii. 11–22. It seems clear that in *v.* 18 the original reading was, "they came to Hobab the son of Reuel their father"; the words "and dwelt in the land of Midian" (*v.* 15) being inserted from E, and "the priest of Midian" (*v.* 16) being substituted for "Hobab the son of Reuel". Hobab appears as a *Kenite* in Judges i. 16, iv. 11; and in Ex. xviii. 11 speaks as one *newly converted to the religion of Jehovah.* See also Num. x. 29–32 (J) where the description "the Midianite" is a later insertion. Thus the Kenites at the time of the Exodus were not worshippers of Jehovah, and this is in harmony with Gen. iv. 14, 16.

whoever it was that in J uttered the explanation of Noah's name which appears in Gen. v. 29, he must have belonged to a line of worshippers of Jehovah: in other words he was descended not from Cain, but from Enosh.

This conclusion, moreover, is confirmed by the fact that in J Lamech's four children have no connexion with Noah or with agriculture: and it is unlikely that the original draft of J contained a statement that Lamech subsequently took a third wife and begot Noah.

But further the explanation of the name of Noah embedded in P's genealogy is quite inappropriate in the context in which it now appears. Noah's father, whoever he was, would certainly not express the hope that he and his contemporaries would find comfort in Noah with regard to the ground which Jehovah had cursed, if he himself and his contemporaries were to be swept away by the Flood and were to have no part in the produce of the ground after the removal of the curse. Certainly the Flood would not naturally be described as a curse of the cultivable ground (אדמה), for it was equally a curse of the non-cultivable ground and of the desert. Similarly the promise which we now read in viii. 21, 22 is more applicable to the removal of such a curse on the ground as is described in Gen. iii. 17–19 than as understood to mean that there will not again be a flood to destroy the earth as in P (Gen. ix. 15[1]). The natural inference is that in the original draft of J, Noah, by rendering himself pleasing to Jehovah, procured a revocation (Gen. viii. 21 f.) of the curse on the fertility of the ground (Gen. iii. 17–19). In other words in the original draft of J the curse on the ground (אדמה) lasted only till the days of Noah. Note that *nowhere else in the Old Testament is the ground represented as under a*

[1] It must, however, be noted that the phraseology is somewhat different and probably implies a different hand. In Gen. iii. 17, v. 29, ארר is used in connexion with the ground; in viii. 21 קלל.

curse, but rather as, at least potentially, under Jehovah's blessing; cf. Gen. xxvi. 12, xxvii. 27, xlix. 25; Deut. xxviii. 8, 11, 12; Ps. lxv. 9, etc.

Further, inasmuch as J apparently intended to give an account of the origin of the various forms of livelihood and does not mention agriculture in Cain's genealogy, it is probable that he connected agriculture with the line of Seth.

To sum up, therefore, it may be concluded that, in the original draft of J, the writer, after giving an account of the Cainites (Kenites) who did not worship Jehovah, proceeded to give the genealogy of Seth, in the days of whose son (Enosh) Jehovah was invoked by name. Enosh (or whatever the true form of the name may be) begot a son, and predicted at his birth that he would be the means of delivering his father's family from the curse on the ground which made their life so hard.[1] The account of the removal of this curse, apparently through some action of the son of Enosh, was omitted when the story of the Flood was inserted, but we *perhaps* have a fragment from the conclusion of it, in Gen. viii. 21, 22, amplified and modified by a reference to the Flood story.

We have now to discover who this descendant of Enosh the restorer of agriculture was supposed to be. In Gen. ix. 20 we are told that "Noah began to be a husbandman,[2] and planted a vineyard", and this leads on to the account of the offence committed by Ham, and Noah's subsequent utterance concerning his descendants. Every one, however, must feel that the story as we have

[1] The passage "This same shall comfort us" (זה ינחמנו) appears in Genesis as it stands as the explanation of נֹחַ. Etymology was not the Jahvist's strong point (cf. Gen. xxix. 32) but ינ[חמ]נו might also seem to explain the name *Ham* (חם).

[2] This, however, is an impossible translation. The Hebrew has "And Noah began the man of the ground". Noah's sons were not apparently named in the earliest account of the Flood (cf. "thy house", Gen. vii. 1), and Shem, Ham and Japheth first appeared as Noah's sons in P.

it cannot be what was originally written. Ham, who does not elsewhere appear as Noah's youngest son, is not mentioned in *vv.* 25–27, while Canaan, who is not said to have been implicated in Ham's offence, is cursed and doomed to the lowest servitude. This is vicarious punishment with a vengeance! Now Canaan is described (*vv.* 18, 22) as the son of Ham. Accordingly, if for *Noah* in this passage (*vv.* 20, 24) we read *Ham*, and omit the words "Ham the father of" (*v.* 22) the whole passage is consistent. Shem, Japheth and Canaan in the original draft were the three sons of Ham,[1] and it was Ham who planted the vineyard, and who, like Israel in Gen. xlix, blessed and cursed his descendants.

It has been pointed out above that the statement that Cain went out from the presence of Jehovah and dwelt to the east of Eden, implies that the descendants of Seth, who did not leave the neighbourhood of Jehovah's sanctuary, were originally settled to the *west of the Cainites* (Kenites) that is to say, on the border, or not far from the border, of Egypt; and certainly to the nomads of the Negeb and of the wilderness to the south of it Egypt would naturally appear to be the original home of agriculture. If then Ham be identified with Egypt, he is brought into close connexion with the descendants of Seth who were supposed to have been located close by. Whether the name Ham be equated with the old native name for Egypt, or whether it be the name of an ancient Egyptian god, it evidently means Egypt in Ps. cv. 27. It is possible that the Hyksos dynasty brought about the idea that Ham (Egypt) was descended from a tribe or tribes to the east of Egypt, just as the idea that Canaan was descended from Egypt was due to the fact that Egypt held the overlordship of Canaan.

But if Egypt (i.e. Ham) is the scene of the first vineyard, and Canaan, not Ham, was the offender in the

[1] Note that in Gen. x. 21 Shem is called the elder brother of Japheth.

subsequent story, we have a natural explanation of the episode. For the charge brought against Canaan is identical with that which Joseph, as vice-gerent of the king of Egypt, brings against his brethren (Gen. xlii. 9). Egypt always dreaded invasion from the east; and those who tried "to see the nakedness" of Egypt were spies from Canaan or elsewhere, who sought to discover places where Egypt might be invaded. If the view here set forth be correct, viz. that Noah's name has been substituted for Ham's, the prediction of the servitude of Canaan was probably put into Ham's mouth, because, before the Hebrew invasion of Palestine, Egypt had claimed suzerainty over Canaan, and had been appealed to by Canaan for help against invaders. This protection Egypt, at the time of the Hebrew conquest of Canaan, had withdrawn on the ground that Canaan had been guilty of treachery. Thus there is a striking similarity between Ham's disavowal of Canaan, and Israel's disavowal of Simeon and Levi (Gen. xlix).

But if the above argument is sound, there remains yet a question to be answered. If Ham was originally regarded as enjoying the favour of Jehovah, and, presumably, as well disposed towards his sons Shem and Japheth, why, when the story of Noah and his sons[1] was inserted in the Jahvistic document, was he subsequently represented as the villain of the piece? Evidently the first representation belongs to a time when the relations of Judah with Egypt were friendly, the latter when a breach had arisen.

It has been argued above that the first draft of J was drawn up between 621 and 604 B.C.; but indeed it is probable that the *terminus ad quem* may be placed some

[1] The sons of Noah were apparently not named in the account of the Flood as it was first inserted in the Jahvistic document. Thus in Gen. vii. 1 Noah's family is simply called his "house". The language of vii. 7, though this verse mainly belongs to J, appears to have been amplified from P. Gen. ix. 18 is superfluous if the names of the sons of Noah are already well known.

years earlier, that is to say, some time before the death of Josiah. So far as we know, Judæan relations with Egypt were friendly till Pharaoh Necoh attempted to impose his suzerainty on Josiah (c. 608 B.C.); and therefore before this date a friendly reference to Ham, i.e. Egypt, would be perfectly natural. At the time of the captivity of Judah however, when the story of the Flood was probably inserted,[1] Egypt had proved a broken reed, and, the original meaning of the story having been perhaps forgotten, it seemed natural to make Ham the culprit.

If the foregoing argument be accepted, the Jahvist divided the races of the world with which he was acquainted into two main stems—the elder comprising the Kenites and their offshoots, the other the Sethites, that is to say Egypt, the Semitic tribes in general, and Japheth. In a tradition of this sort we seem to have reflected the Kenite pride in the antiquity and freedom of their race. It is significant that the Ishmaelites are represented as branching off at a later stage, and, moreover, as being "children of the bondwoman". Of what peoples the Jahvist considers Japheth to be the ancestor is not clear, for not a fragment of J's Japhetic genealogy has survived. The Japhetic genealogy in P includes the Medes and the peoples whom the Assyrians called the Umman-manda. If the original draft of J took shape after 621 B.C., these would have been known by name in Judah, but there is no evidence that the people of Palestine had any knowledge of them at a much earlier date. The exact meaning moreover of Gen. ix. 27 is by no means clear, and the use of אלהים instead of יהוה may denote a different hand.

It will be noted that, according to J's scheme of the population of the world, Cush (representing northern

[1] It is not necessary to postulate an independent document from which this story was taken; for a later editor could insert in an existing document a tradition which till then had not been written.

Egypt, Ethiopia and the Sudan) begot Nimrod who founded a kingdom in Babylon. P's genealogy of Ham ascribes to him the south Arabian peoples, and it is not improbable that the Jahvist—unlike P who assigns Assyria to Shem—supposed that the inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria had occupied those countries from Arabia.

To Shem the Jahvist assigned all the sons of Eber and apparently the Aramæans (cf. x. 30 with Num. xxiii. 7).

The Tower of Babel, like the Flood, did not form part of the Jahvistic document. It is unlikely that the story originated in Babylonia where high towers were common, and it bears considerable resemblance in some of its features to certain African tales (see Frazer, *The Worship of Nature*, vol. I, pp. 173, 174, 195, 201). The story *as we have it* is located in Babylonia, but it is probably much older than the Hebrews' acquaintance with Babylonia. Those who visited Babylonia having in mind the story of the tower reaching to heaven would naturally suppose that a *ziggurat* represented such a tower; and when once the story had been located in Babylonia, the details would be made to fit. The *motive* for the insertion of the story in the original draft of J is doubtless the desire to point out that those who in their arrogance, like the Babylonians, defied heaven (cf. the words put into the mouth of the King of Babylon by a Hebrew prophet a generation after the deportation of the Jews in 586, Isaiah xiv. 13) were certain to be frustrated by Jehovah.

§ III

Having given an account of the tribes in the south of Palestine who claimed to have been there continuously, and of the nations with whom more especially these tribes came into contact, the Jahvist proceeds to relate

the origins of Israel, whose chief sanctuary he doubtless considered to be Hebron. In what way the story of Abraham was linked on to that of the other nations in J is not clear; for the genealogy given in P has doubtless caused the omission of some of the genealogical statements in J. It is noteworthy that the author of J, proud as he is of Hebron and of its legendary founder, makes no attempt to represent Abram[1] as one of the original inhabitants of the district. Abraham and Jacob-Israel are consistently represented as nomadic immigrants from the east. Isaac, however, is not said to have been at any time east of the Jordan, but is connected with south-west Palestine; and this fact, together with the representation of Isaac as younger brother of Ishmael, perhaps indicates a Beersheba tradition that the tribe that reverenced Isaac as their eponymous ancestor (cf. Amos vii. 9, 16), and regarded Beersheba as their tribal sanctuary, had been settled in the district at least a considerable time before the Aramæan immigration indicated by Rebekah. The strong belief in the Aramæan origin of those who in the seventh century B.C. called themselves Israel, is seen not only in the representation of Abram as an Aramæan having affinities with the Aramæans of Haran, but also in the representation of Sarah, Rebekah, Leah and Rachel as Aramæans. Clearly, when the Jahvistic document took shape, it was commonly believed that the population of the kingdom of Judah had closer affinities with the Aramæans than with the Kenites on the one hand with whom they had friendly relations, or with the Canaanites on the other hand whom they claimed to have reduced to bondage.

Considering the great importance of Abram in the Jahvistic narrative—and indeed, though to a less

[1] The difference between Abram and Abraham is perhaps merely dialectic, though it may indicate the fusion of two distinct traditions. Whether originally Sarai = Sarah is doubtful; it is *possible* that Sarai bears the same relation to Israel as, for example, Ahaz to Jehoahaz.

extent, in E—it is extremely remarkable that his name is never used in the Old Testament to indicate a tribe or people, but only an individual: it is therefore not improbable that, whereas Israel and Jacob may originally have been tribal gods or personifications of tribes, the legends of Abraham rested on tradition of an actual man, though we can scarcely hope to disentangle true history from legends.[1] Probably Isaac was affiliated to Abraham only after the incorporation of Beersheba with the Judah of which Hebron claimed to be the capital—that is to say, not before the reign of David. Similarly Jacob was affiliated to Isaac, because it was traditionally believed that the tribe represented by Isaac had been settled in the land before those who called themselves Jacob (and who regarded Bethel as their chief sanctuary) had gained a settlement.[2] It is noteworthy that whereas the parentage of Sarai (Sarah)[3] is not given, Rebekah is

[1] The absence of the name of Abraham from all the pre-exilic Hebrew literature (apart from the Pentateuch) which has come down to us is most remarkable, and affords a very strong argument for the late date at which even the earliest Pentateuchal documents took shape. The earliest *prophetic* reference to Abraham appears to be that in Ezek. xxxiii. 24; for 1 Kings xviii. 36 is certainly the work of a later hand (note the phrase "Elijah *the prophet*"), and the words "who redeemed Abraham" (Isaiah xxix. 22), as Wellhausen pointed out, have no connexion with their context. Jer. xxxiii. 26, as we now have it, is not by Jeremiah, and Micah vii. 20 is post-exilic and late.

[2] In patriarchal tradition seniority doubtless indicates priority of settlement (so Guthe, *Enc. Bibl.* art. *Israel*). Esau is the *elder* twin, because the Edomites took possession of their territory shortly before the Israelite conquest of Palestine. Reuben is the eldest son of Israel, because Reuben seized first the land on the east of the Jordan.

[3] Sarah and Milcah appear in the pantheon of Haran as wives of Sin the moon god. We need not suppose that the Aramæans worshipped Sin only after they had spread north to Haran, for it is not improbable that the nomad Aramæans further south had the same worship. The Pentateuchal narratives, though in general they imply that the Aramæan kinsmen of Israel were nomads, sometimes refer to them as settled (e.g. Gen. xxiv. 10, 31 f., xxix. 4 f., 13). This may be explained by the fact that, at the late date when these narratives first took shape, the Aramæans, with whom the Israelites recognised most affinity, were no longer to be found in the eastern desert but only in Haran.

represented as the daughter of Abraham's brother, and the sisters Leah and Rachel as the daughters of Rebekah's brother.

Sarah and Rebekah, though they are of importance in indicating a tradition of a strong Aramæan strain in the population of the kingdom of Judah, have left no mark on the political history of Israel. With Leah and Rachel however the case is very different. For with Leah and Rachel are connected the tribal divisions of the people who called themselves by the name of Jacob-Israel, and these tribal divisions are of primary importance for understanding the history of Israel, not only under the Hebrew monarchy, but even down to the Christian era.

As the story of the Israelite nation finally took shape, Jacob-Israel had twelve sons, eight by his two wives Leah and Rachel, and four by his wives' handmaidens Zilpah and Bilhah. Evidently the sons of the handmaidens were not originally on a level with the sons of the wives, and they are probably to be regarded as representing tribes of mixed origin incorporated with Israel. Leah, the *elder* wife, has six sons, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah and—born it is important to note, after a considerable time—Issachar and Zebulun. Rachel has two sons, Joseph (whose sons Manasseh and Ephraim are adopted by Israel in place of their father) and Benjamin.

It is extremely significant that, whereas in the earlier Pentateuchal narratives of the exodus and sojourn in the wilderness there is no hint of tribal jealousy between the sons of Leah and the sons of Rachel; in the days of the Hebrew monarchy the cleavage is clearly marked. After the captivity of Judah it seems for a time to have died down; and Judah and Samaria being reduced to the same level, there was a movement towards the unification of Israel—a movement which seems to have made considerable progress till it was arrested by the

appointment of Zerubbabel. This unifying movement was the cause of the composition of the earlier portions of the book of Joshua, which, just as Deuteronomy was designed to supersede JE, was intended to supersede the earlier account of the conquest of Canaan given in Judges i.

In those parts of the book of Joshua which are commonly regarded as JE—though there is good reason to suppose that they were composed independently of the JE portions of the Pentateuch—we see history idealised, rewritten and indeed distorted, in order to set forth a political idea. In Judges i however we have (though in a bowdlerised form and with modifications due to a belief that the component elements of the population of Judah had been united before the conquest of the country) a tradition of the conquest of western Palestine absolutely irreconcilable with the book of Joshua, but in harmony with the book of Judges in general, and with what the books of Samuel tell us about the country in the early days of the monarchy.

According to this earlier tradition—a trace indeed of which is found in Josh. xvii. 14 ff.—the tribes fought independently and not as a united army: and though the later theory of the conquest has doubtless caused the omission of some parts of the older tradition and the modification of others, it is nevertheless possible from what remains to us to draw up, at least in outline, a sketch of the conquest.

According to Judges i. 12–21, as we now have it, the Calebites and the Kenites accompanied Judah in the conquest of the Judæan territory from north to south. But it is clear both from Genesis and from Num. xxiv. 21 that the Kenites had been settled in the Negeb long before the Hebrews under Moses escaped from Egypt. Moreover, the tradition is consistent that Caleb took Hebron; and further, the oldest stratum of the story of the spies represents Hebron as the northernmost limit

of exploration from the south and Caleb as the leader. Moreover, in the time of David the Calebites are still distinct from Judah (1 Sam. xxv. 3, xxx. 14), and Caleb is stated to be connected with the Kenizzites (Josh. xv. 17; Judges i. 13). If Caleb had been merely an individual member of the tribe of Judah, the reference to the Calebites as a distinct clan would be inexplicable. If, however, Caleb conquered Hebron from the Negeb, and was only incorporated with Judah at a later date, the references to Caleb and Calebites are at once intelligible.

But when it is recognised that the Calebites who occupied Hebron from the Negeb were originally distinct from Judah, there is no valid argument for the supposition that the tribe of Judah proper advanced from the south,[1] while there is good reason for holding that the tribe crossed into western Palestine north of the Dead Sea. Although the historical value of Josh. x and Judges i. 7 cannot be rated very high, nevertheless it is remarkable that, in spite of the tradition of David's capture of Jerusalem from the Jebusites (which on any hypothesis can scarcely have been unknown when these passages took shape), it seems to have been believed that in the early days of the Hebrew conquest Jerusalem had been held by the Hebrews. We do not know where the Jebusites came from. They may have been a clan of the *Ḥabiri* against whom Abdi-hiba appealed to Egypt for protection, or their seizure of Jerusalem may have taken place after the Canaanite attack on the invaders indicated in Gen. xxxiv, xlix, or even after the defeat of Saul by the Philistines. On the theory stated above, viz. that the seniority of the patriarchs indicates the priority of settlement of the tribes who regarded the patriarchs as their eponymous ancestors, we should

[1] The fact that Jerusalem in the time of David was in the hands of the Jebusites does not prove that the Jebusites formed a barrier across the country a century or two earlier. There is no evidence that the Jebusite occupation of Jerusalem was of long standing.

expect to find that the settlement of the Leah tribes was in the following order: after Reuben, who occupied the land first won on the east of the Jordan, first Simeon, then Levi, then Judah. Simeon and Levi are connected together in central Palestine in Genesis xxxiv, and the result of their ill-starred enterprise appears in Gen. xlix, where it is said, that they are "divided in Jacob" (or perhaps *shared out*, i.e. their territory; cf. Ps. lx. 7) and "scattered in Israel". This obviously means that when Gen. xlix was composed, Simeon and Levi had lost most of their original territory, and no longer existed as tribes inhabiting definite tracts of the country. Simeonites indeed appear both in Judah (Josh. xix. 1–9, xxi. 9 f.; 1 Chron. vi. 65) and also in central Palestine (2 Chron. xv. 9, xxxiv. 6); and, late as this information is, there is good reason to believe that the latter represents their original settlement. But whereas in Gen. xxxiv and xlix Simeon and *Levi* are associated together in an attack on Shechem, Judges i represents Simeon and *Judah* as associated in the original invasion. Here indeed there is no mention of Levi,[1] but this omission is not

[1] In this connexion it is important to contrast Gen. xxxiv and xlix. 5–7 with Deut. xxxiii. 8–11. In J and E there is no hint that priests must be of the tribe of Levi. Moses, indeed, is said to be of this tribe (Ex. ii. 1), and Aaron is described as the Levite (Ex. iv. 14). In this latter passage, however, which is due to the redactor of JE, the description "the Levite" (Ex. iv. 14) evidently refers to the priestly office which Aaron is supposed already to hold. There is no hint that the priests who in J suddenly appear at Sinai (Ex. xix. 22) are of the tribe of Levi, and Moses' assistant Joshua, who has charge of the sanctuary (Ex. xxxiii. 11) was, at any rate in later days, regarded as an Ephraimite (Num. xiii. 8, 16). In Deuteronomy the Levites are priests who have ministered at various sanctuaries (now closed), and who have been brought to the central sanctuary at Jerusalem (Deut. xviii. 6–8; cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 8 ff.). As newcomers they have no share in the land, arable or grazing, which belongs to the township of Jerusalem. There is no hint, however, that previously priests had been debarred from holding land. Abiathar held land at Anathoth (1 Kings ii. 26), and in Gen. xlvii. 22, 26, though this refers to Egypt, it is regarded as quite natural that priests should hold land.

surprising when it is remembered that at the date when Judges i assumed its present shape—viz. after the publication of Deuteronomy—Levi was regarded as a tribe set apart for ministration at the central sanctuary.

Putting together then Judges i and Gen. xxxiv we may infer, as indeed Wellhausen maintained, that Simeon, Levi and Judah[1] crossed the Jordan at about the same time and, after hard fighting, gained a precarious footing on the mountains between the plains of Megiddo on the north, and Hebron on the south. It would appear that the northern part of this district was first seized. At any rate we hear of fighting at Bezek (Judges i. 4), which apparently is the place of that name mentioned in 1 Sam. xi. 8, viz. the modern *Ibzik*, fourteen miles north-east of Shechem.[2] If the tribe of Simeon originally settled in this neighbourhood, we can understand how together with the tribe of Levi, Simeonites attacked Shechem, whereas the story of Gen. xxxiv[3] is altogether inexplicable if Simeon originally settled in southern Palestine.

[1] It is worthy of note that these three tribes are associated together in Deut. xxvii. 12.

[2] Doubt has been thrown on this identification on the ground that *Adoni-bezek* is apparently incorrect, since there is no example of *Adoni* compounded with the name of a place; whereas in Josh. x. 1 we have the form *Adoni-zedek* as the name of the King of Jerusalem (cf. Melchizedek, Gen. xiv. 18). Probably there is a confusion in Judges i. 5–7. It is not impossible that Adoni-zedek King of Jerusalem went to the help of Bezek, and that after his defeat, flight and capture, Jerusalem was taken. If this were so, we may suppose that an editor, misled by the assumption that Adoni-zedek was King of Bezek, altered the name in accordance with his supposition.

[3] Gen. xxxiv undoubtedly contains true history, though in a very garbled form, and more than one hand is evident in the account: compare the sudden introduction of "the sons of Jacob", *v.* 27. The Hebrews under Moses seem to have been uncircumcised (Josh. v. 2–9; cf. Ex. iv. 24–26); and it is doubtful whether the pre-exilic prophets accepted circumcision as a divine ordinance. Jer. iv. 4 may have been modified in the interests of later orthodoxy, since the second clause seems to indicate not circumcision but a spiritual substitute for it (cf. Rom. ii. 28). There can, however, be little doubt that, with the possible exception of

Arguing therefore from the fact that Simeon and Levi begin their conquest of western Palestine at Bezek, and at a later date make a combined attack on Shechem, and, bearing in mind that the seniority of the eponymous founders of tribes implies priority of settlement, we may suppose that (1) Simeon seized territory in the north of central Palestine in what was at a later date western Manasseh, (2) Levi, shortly afterwards further south in what was subsequently Ephraim, and (3) Judah, in the district between Jerusalem and Hebron. There is no difficulty in supposing that Jerusalem was actually taken at this time, but that, in the isolation of Judah after the rout of Simeon and Levi by the

a small minority who clung to traditions of the wilderness, and rejected sacrifice and kindred ordinances, the Israelite nation as a whole practised circumcision, and assumed that it had been practised by the forefathers of the nation from time immemorial. But though late tradition was almost certainly wrong in supposing that the Shechemites were uncircumcised until they were induced by Simeon and Levi to submit to the rite, we need not suppose that the story of the circumcision at Shechem is mere invention. It is clear from Josh. v. 2–9 that circumcision according to the custom in Palestine in pre-exilic times would be performed periodically as an initiation rite on arriving at manhood, as among many African tribes at the present day. From what we know of the customs of primitive people we may infer that the occasion of a circumcision day would be a time on which it would be contrary to recognised custom for one tribe to attack another. The unpardonable sin of Simeon and Levi was that they attacked Shechem on an occasion when, by the unwritten law of Palestine, no attack could justifiably be made. It was not only an act of treachery, but an act which set at nought what the Canaanites would regard as a truce of God.

Canon John Roscoe has kindly permitted me to quote from a letter which he has sent me in response to an inquiry of mine on the subject. He writes: "My knowledge of African tribes leads me to think no attack would be made upon another tribe when such a ceremony as circumcision was being enacted. Any hostile tribe would fear the gods, believing those undergoing the operation to be under special protection at such a time. In each tribe I have known in which circumcision takes place, the rite is performed after harvest is ended.... This is a time when tribal differences are laid aside, and enemies can meet and drink together as friends. Again, boys from far and wide take part in these ceremonies, so that all hostilities are suspended".

Canaanites, this tribe was not strong enough to hold Jerusalem which was captured or recaptured by the Jebusites.

The piecing together into a consistent whole of broken and distorted fragments of tradition is a work for which certainty cannot be claimed; but mere analysis is useless unless an attempt be made at reconstruction, and conjecture is not to be brushed aside as worthless if it takes account of all the facts, and explains them.

Although the Priestly Code (Josh. xix. 1–9; cf. 1 Chron. vi. 65) recognises Simeonites only in southern Judah, in 2 Chron. xv. 9, xxxiv. 6, as mentioned above, we read of Simeonites apparently in the north of central Palestine. This is in entire agreement with the statement of Gen. xlix. 7 that they are to be scattered in Israel.

Of Levi as a secular tribe, apart from the passages already quoted there is no certain trace. If, however, we may suppose that this secular tribe of Levi was originally settled in what was afterwards the territory of Ephraim, we have perhaps a clue to what is otherwise an unsolved problem. All students of the Old Testament must be struck by the fact that Shiloh, which appears to have been a place of great importance in the pre-monarchic period, thenceforth disappears from our sight till the age of Jeremiah—with the single exception of its being mentioned as the home of the prophet Ahijah (1 Kings xi. 29). Certainly Jer. vii. 12–15 implies a *recent* disaster at Shiloh, for Jeremiah could scarcely expect his hearers to be much impressed by an event which had occurred 400 years before; and moreover *it is not stated in* 1 *Sam. iv that Shiloh was destroyed by the Philistines*. The supposition that the sanctuary of Shiloh was destroyed at the time of the death of Eli, and that the priests of Shiloh thereupon fled to Nob, is an arbitrary assumption which rests only on the artificial genealogy in 1 Sam. xiv. 3, which by deriving the

priesthood of Nob from that of Shiloh, is supposed to prove the flight of the priests of Shiloh and the destruction of that sanctuary.

But why should Jeremiah exhort the people of Judah and Jerusalem to take warning by the fate of Shiloh? Why not by Bethel or Shechem? Bethel certainly and, probably, Shechem were more important sanctuaries than Shiloh while the kingdom of northern Israel lasted; yet Jeremiah does not exhort Jerusalem to take warning from the fate of these places. We can, however, explain the reference to Shiloh on the following hypothesis. If Shiloh was the sanctuary of the secular tribe of Levi, and, after the scattering of that tribe and the subsequent conquest by Ephraim of its territory, remained a Levitical *enclave* in an Ephraimite district, we may reasonably suppose that the Leah tribes in general would regard it with a sympathy which they would not feel towards Bethel or Ramah, since these sanctuaries were specially connected with the Rachel tribes. There is, moreover, no reason to doubt that Shiloh originally possessed the ark which afterwards passed into the possession of Judah; accordingly those who in Judah lamented the loss of the ark (Jer. iii. 16)[1] would feel a special interest in the sanctuary which had originally housed it. It is possible that Shiloh—which on this hypothesis, unlike Bethel the royal sanctuary (Amos vii. 13), had no close connexion with the kingdom of northern Israel—may have escaped the general destruction of sanctuaries by the Assyrians (c. 722 B.C.) and that the disaster to which Jeremiah refers was the work either of the Assyrians about 670 B.C. (cf. Isaiah vii. 8; Ezra iv. 2) or of the Scythians.

To sum up then, we may conclude that after the settlement of Reuben on the east of the Jordan and of the Dead Sea, the three Leah tribes, Simeon, Levi and Judah crossed the Jordan and gained a footing in the

[1] This passage may be later than the time of Jeremiah.

mountainous region between the plain of Esdraelon on the north and Hebron on the south. After the treacherous attack on Shechem, *most* of the Simeonites were driven out of their settlements and took refuge in southern Judah, though some few continued in the district in which the tribe had first settled. Levi as a secular tribe apparently came almost to an end, but its sanctuary Shiloh remained in the hands of its original priesthood.[1] Judah gained Jerusalem (but subsequently lost it to the Jebusites) as well as the district to the south of it, perhaps nearly as far as the neighbourhood of Hebron.

After this almost abortive invasion of western Palestine by the three Leah tribes, Simeon, Levi and Judah, came another by the Rachel tribes perhaps led by Joshua.[2] The previous struggle between the Leah tribes and the Canaanites had doubtless weakened the latter as well as the former, and the Rachel tribes were able more effectively—though not quite thoroughly—to occupy the district which had been previously seized by Simeon and Levi. The newcomers consisted of the powerful tribe of Joseph with its subdivisions Manasseh and Ephraim, the former of which though foremost at the time was subsequently eclipsed by Ephraim. The tribe of Benjamin seems to have been an offshoot from

[1] The interest which Judah felt at a much later date in the destruction of Shiloh, and the fact that while Judah was anxious to gain possession of the ark, no king of northern Israel, so far as we know, ever attempted to transfer it to Bethel, suggests that until the dispersal of Simeon and Levi, Shiloh was regarded as at least the most important sanctuary of the western Leah tribes. It is noteworthy that Shiloh is not connected with the patriarchal legends, and this implies that, unlike Bethel, it was not a sanctuary taken over from the Canaanites.

[2] It is more probable that Joshua belongs to this date than that he was associated with Moses. He is ignored in the Judæan tradition (note particularly Num. xiv. 24), and the description of him in Ex. xxxiii. 11, which doubtless originally preceded the mention of him in Ex. xvii. 9 ff., where he is described as a young man, looks like the attempt of a late age to connect him with Moses.

Ephraim raised to the dignity of an independent tribe after the conquest.[1]

Some time after the invasion of western Palestine by Simeon, Levi and Judah, and *probably* after the settlement of Manasseh and Ephraim, the remaining Leah tribes crossed the Jordan and settled in the plain of Esdraelon and in the district to the north-west of it. Whether this was originally a warlike invasion is doubtful; it may have been a settlement by nomads. At all events these two tribes merely "dwelt among the Canaanites", and doubtless to some extent were subject to them. As the incoming tribes became stronger, they seem to have associated with themselves other tribes mainly Canaanite in origin, viz. Gad and Asher, Dan and Naphtali. The two former were assigned to Leah's handmaid, probably because originally Gad was to some extent subject to Reuben, and Asher to Zebulon. Dan was a tribe originally settled in the Shephelah, west of Ephraim, and, owing to the Philistine invasion, suffered a fate not unlike that of Simeon, part of the tribe migrating to the north of Palestine. Naphtali was perhaps the last Canaanite tribe to be incorporated, and was assigned to Rachel because the Rachel tribes had by that time become dominant in western Palestine. The union of the tribes in the plain of Esdraelon and Galilee with Manasseh and Ephraim was probably the result of their being compelled to take united action against Sisera.

[1] The exact relation of Manasseh and Ephraim to Joseph is very obscure. Central Palestinian tradition (Gen. xlviii. 22; Josh. xxiv. 32) assigned to Joseph a settlement in or near Shechem, where the patriarch's burial place was supposed to be. Inasmuch as Shechem continued in the hands of the Canaanites till fairly late in the age of the judges, it is not easy to account for this tradition if "Joseph's" first appearance in western Palestine was at the immigration of Manasseh and Ephraim. It is possible that the relation of Joseph to Shechem was originally supposed to be somewhat similar to that of Abraham to Hebron, and that after Shechem was incorporated with Israel—that is to say after the failure of Abimelech to establish a Canaanite kingdom—Manasseh and Ephraim were affiliated to Joseph, just as Isaac was affiliated to Abraham.

But although the foregoing hypothesis will explain the distribution of the tribes, there yet remains to be explained their relation to Jacob-Israel. The name *Jacob*, which is probably a shortening of *Jacob-el*, appears to be the same as a place-name *Y-'-ḳ-b-'ā-ra* which occurs in the Palestinian name list of Thothmes III. There is no difficulty in supposing that a tribe which already in the middle of the fifteenth century B.C. reverenced Jacob as its eponymous ancestor had in the course of three centuries considerably extended its influence, so that by the middle of the twelfth century B.C. Jacob was regarded as the ancestor of those people whom the Leah and Rachel tribes found in possession of central Palestine. What has been said above of the failure of the Leah tribes and of the subsequent success of the Rachel tribes in this region will account for the growth of the legend that Jacob had disliked Leah, but had joyfully wedded Rachel.

But what is the connexion between *Jacob* and *Israel*? P, which in characteristic fashion represents the revelation of a new name in connexion with the giving of a promise (cf. e.g. Gen. xvii; Ex. vi. 2 ff.), states that the change of name from *Jacob* to *Israel* was made at Bethel, the place which from earliest times was traditionally most closely associated with Jacob. In the earlier narratives, however (Gen. xxxii. 22–32), the change of name takes place *east* of the Jordan near the Jabbok at Penuel; and the conjecture may be hazarded that whereas *Jacob* originally denoted inhabitants of central Palestine west of the Jordan, *Israel* denoted the population of Transjordania, or a part of it, whose chief sanctuary was at the fortified city of Penuel (cf. Judges viii; 1 Kings xii. 25). This conjecture indeed receives a considerable amount of support from the fact that, when the Jahvistic document took shape, the burial place of Israel was believed to be east of the Jordan (Gen. l. 10). An ancient tradition concerning the burial

place of the eponymous ancestor of a tribe affords valuable evidence as to the original settlement of that tribe; and the statement of J concerning the burial place of Israel is not lightly to be set aside in favour of P's assertion that he was buried in the cave of Machpelah.

The question however arises, Can this Israel whose eponymous ancestor was supposed to be buried on the east of the Jordan be identified with the Hebrews whom Moses led out of Egypt? This identification has commonly been taken for granted, but it is by no means certain. In the first place, if the Hebrews in Egypt regularly called themselves *Israel* the frequency of the term *Hebrews* in Exodus in the narratives of the Egyptian bondage is, to say the least, remarkable, even if this were the name which the Egyptians themselves commonly used.[1] Moreover, on any theory of the date of the exodus from Egypt, Merneptah's boast in connexion with Palestine that the people of Israel[2] have been destroyed is difficult to reconcile with the tradition

[1] Whether the *Ḫabiri* be the same as the *Sa-Gas* or not, there seems to be no valid objection to the equation *Ḫabiri* = *Āperu* = Hebrews. The noteworthy fact is that the name *Israel* does not occur in any Egyptian list of those who did forced labour for the Pharaohs.

[2] It is important to remember that Merneptah's *stele* does not give an *orderly history of a campaign*, but only a list of what the Egyptian king claimed as successes. After mentioning the Tehennu (Libyans) the statement continues: "The Khita (Hittites) are pacified; Canaan is seized with every evil; Ashkelon is carried away; Gezer is taken; Yenoam is annihilated; *Ysiraal* is desolated, its seed (or fruit) is not; Charu" (perhaps the Horites, the old population of Edom) "has become as widows for Egypt; all lands together are at peace". It is obvious that a statement which passes from the Libyans in North Africa to the Hittites north of Palestine cannot be regarded as the history of a single military expedition, and under the circumstances it is precarious to argue that even the alleged Asiatic successes are given in the precise order in which they were won by the Egyptian armies; though the mention of Israel before the Horites (whose old settlement according to Deut. ii. 12 was apparently in Seir, i.e. in that part of Edom which lay to the east of the trough extending south of the Dead Sea) might be understood to imply that Israel (Ysiraal) was located further north, that is east of the Jordan.

If the *order* of names on Merneptah's *stele* is without significance,

of the Old Testament, which entirely ignores any trouble with Egypt from the conquest of Palestine to the time of Solomon.[1]

The very definite statement of Ex. i. 11, which cannot be explained as an inference from anything stated by the Jahvist, and which does not introduce any narrative, is only explicable on the supposition that it embodies a true tradition; and this enables us to identify the Pharaoh of the oppression with Rameses II (1300–1234 B.C.). Hence the Pharaoh of the Exodus will naturally be Merneptah (1234–1214 B.C., or, according to Breasted, 1225–1215 B.C.).

We may, perhaps, therefore piece together the fragmentary notices by supposing that east of the Jordan and extending as far north as the Jabbok was a tribe called Israel, which had joined in the revolt against Merneptah, and was subsequently decimated by the Egyptian forces. Thereupon, after the decline of the Egyptian power, Sihon King of the Amorites crossed the Jordan and invaded the territory of Israel and Moab, but was subsequently repulsed by the Hebrews, who, having successfully aided the decimated tribe of Israel against the invaders, settled in the country from which Sihon's forces had been expelled, and there became

there remains yet one hypothesis which cannot altogether be dismissed as impossible, viz. that Merneptah claims as a victory for Egypt the fight with Israel at the Red Sea, which as a matter of fact won freedom for Israel. In P's story of the Exodus the Egyptians are drowned in the sea, but the earlier account preserves traces of a tradition of a battle (cf. Ex. xiv. 24, 25, 30) in which the Egyptian army attempted to retreat. It is a gratuitous supposition that *none* of the Hebrews perished on this occasion, and the Egyptians who did get home may well have exaggerated the strength of their opponents. It is unnecessary to take the boasts of ancient kings at their face value; Sennacherib, for example, discreetly forbore to relate the termination of his Palestinian campaign in 701 B.C.

[1] Rameses III, 1202–1171 B.C., who claims to have repulsed the Purasati or Philistines, carried out two campaigns in Canaan; but this, if the date of the Exodus given above is approximately correct, was before the Hebrew conquest of Palestine.

amalgamated with Israel. This reconstruction of the history, drastic as it may appear, does not do more violence to the Old Testament tradition than the supposition that Israel (according to the Biblical use of that name) was settled in Palestine before the migration to, and exodus from, Egypt. It is extremely probable that not all the ancestors of those who in the time of the Hebrew monarchy were included in the name Israel had been in Egypt. It is, however, unlikely that if a part of the tribe which migrated to Egypt had remained in Palestine till the days of Merneptah, Old Testament tradition should completely ignore the fact that the Hebrews on returning to Palestine found some with whom they would of necessity have recognised close affinity.

Palestine has again and again been invaded by neighbouring peoples, and the result of Merneptah's campaign would naturally be that, as soon as the Egyptian power ceased to be operative, the territory of those tribes which Merneptah had weakened would be liable to invasion—as indeed happened in southern Palestine after Nebuchadnezzar's campaigns of 597 and 586 B.C. (cf. Ezek. xxxv. 10). If then Israel was originally settled in the district between the Jabbok and the northern boundary of Moab, we may be pretty sure that the Moabites would not be slow to seize upon some of the land of the greatly weakened Israel. Moab's pretension to this territory, however, was contested by Sihon King of the Amorites, who apparently invaded Transjordania from the west, and set up a kingdom in what had been formerly the territory of Israel, but was then, at least in part, claimed by Moab.

By the victory over Sihon, the Hebrews who had escaped from Egypt aided perhaps *at first* by the Moabites, obtained a settlement in the land of Israel, and became incorporated with the tribe of that name. If the tradition concerning the period that elapsed

between the escape from Egypt and the beginning of the conquest of Palestine is substantially correct, the victory over Sihon would be some thirty or forty years after the escape from Egypt, i.e. about 1190–1180 B.C.; and since the fusion of the Hebrews with Israel could scarcely be effected in much less than forty years, we may suppose that the crossing of the Jordan westward took place about 1150–1140 B.C.

But other peoples besides the Hebrews were casting covetous eyes on the land flowing with milk and honey —in particular, two large groups of tribes of Aramæan nomads from the eastern desert reverencing respectively as matriarchs (or perhaps goddesses) Leah and Rachel. The story of Balaam[1] suggests that when the danger from Sihon was at an end, the Moabites who had not recovered all the territory which the Amorite king had seized, endeavoured to secure the help of these Aramæan nomads against Israel—unsuccessfully however, perhaps because those who now called themselves Israel had more sympathy with the Aramæan nomads than the more settled Moabites.

If this attempted reconstruction of early Israelite history be approximately correct, the welding together of the various racial elements (that is to say, the Hebrews who had escaped from Egypt, the Leah and Rachel groups of Aramæans, the Palestinian tribes represented respectively by Israel, Jacob and Israel, and the Hebronites who reverenced Abraham as their founder) took place in the course of the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C., and was scarcely complete at the time of the establishment of Saul's kingdom. Objection will perhaps be made to this on the ground that it shortens

[1] The motive for the incorporation of this story in the Pentateuch is to be found in the condition of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., when every effort was being made to induce the newly imported settlers in what had been the kingdom of Northern Israel to regard themselves as Israelites.

unwarrantably the period of the judges. It has, however, long been recognised that the leadership of the various "judges" may have been to a great extent contemporaneous; and further, it must not be forgotten that the country inhabited by the tribes above mentioned is very small, only indeed about the size of Wales.

The author of 1 Kings vi. 1 reckoned the time between the exodus from Egypt and the fourth year of Solomon as 480 years. This number is apparently based on the supposition that there were in this period twelve generations, each of forty years. But the reckoning of forty years to a generation, by which the chronology of Judges is calculated, ignores the fact that the word *generation* (דּוֹר) is used in two senses. In Numbers xxxii. 13 it means *the time between a man's arrival at manhood and his death*, whereas in Deut. xxiii. 2 f., 8 each generation in the series represents *the time between the birth of father and son*. If therefore the supposition that there were twelve generations between the Exodus and the fourth year of Solomon is based (as is not impossible) on the actual genealogy of some particular family, it is necessary to allow time for eleven[1] generations between the Exodus and Solomon's fourth year. If then the Exodus be dated about 1220 B.C. and Solomon's fourth year about 950, we have not less than two centuries and a half for eleven generations, and this is at least within the bounds of possibility. The reckoning of twelve generations indeed is suspicious, and finds no support in the short genealogy of David as given in Ruth iv. 18–22; 1 Chron. ii. 5–15. The genealogies, however, in the later portion of the Old Testament are for the most part too artificial for much importance to be attached to them. It may nevertheless be affirmed that the Old Testament affords no proof that the period

[1] The Hebrews always reckoned inclusively; hence the twelfth generation of Hebrew reckoning would be the eleventh of our own.

between the Exodus and the reign of David much exceeded 200 years.

It has been pointed out above (p. 33 note) that the exact relation of Joseph to the tribes which were reckoned as his sons is somewhat obscure. It is, moreover, noteworthy that although Joseph was supposed to have been buried at Shechem, his story, as we have it, is concerned almost entirely with his career in Egypt, which is related in great detail. We must therefore inquire what was the motive for the elaboration of his story and for its inclusion in the Jahvistic document.

We may assume that in the days of the Hebrew monarchy some tradition of Joseph, the reputed father of Ephraim and Manasseh, was preserved at what was supposed to be his burial place at Shechem: what that tradition was, however, it is now impossible to discover. Certainly the story of Joseph as we find it, whether in J or E, affords no evidence of great antiquity; and the full account of Joseph's career in Egypt is in marked contrast with the absence of any statement about Moses' early life. While it would be rash to affirm that the story of Joseph in Egypt is devoid of any historical foundation, since a Hebrew slave may have risen to a position of authority under one of the Pharaohs, it is exceedingly improbable that any such person is to be identified with the Joseph of Gen. xlix. 22; Deut. xxxiii. 13. It must be remembered that the most powerful tribes of Israel revered Joseph as their ancestor, and when it was believed that all the tribes had been in Egypt, it would naturally be taken for granted that Joseph had been there too. This being so, a tradition of some successful Hebrew slave may have been fathered on to him.[1]

[1] Lest this should be thought an unwarrantable hypothesis, it may be well to point out other examples of the same sort of thing. Even in the case of Moses, the diversity in the traditions of central Palestine and Judah suggests that what is related of Moses was originally related of two different leaders. In E Moses, when a fugitive from Egypt, finds a home

The motive for the elaboration of the Joseph story, which probably originated in central Palestine and was subsequently taken up by Judah, may be found in the conditions of the seventh century B.C. At first the story would be told to impress upon newcomers whom Kings of Assyria had settled in the province of Samaria, the greatness of the legendary ancestor of the land where they were now becoming naturalised. Moreover, at this period many natives of Palestine appear to have migrated to Egypt, and it would be felt desirable to urge them to remember the example of Joseph who, though he attained to wealth and power in Egypt, forgot neither the land of his birth nor the God of his fathers.

with Jethro priest of Midian near the sacred mountain Horeb (i.e. on the east of the mouth of the Gulf of Akaba). In J he takes up his abode with Hobab son of Reuel, a Kenite, who has seven daughters, one of whom Moses marries. Similarly the slaying of Goliath, which in 2 Sam. xxi. 19 is the exploit of Elhanan of Bethlehem, is in 1 Sam. xvii ascribed to David.

EZEKIEL

IT is impossible to understand any part of the Old Testament unless it is clearly recognised that throughout the age of the Old Testament it was commonly assumed as a matter of course that the divine favour would be manifested in the worldly happiness and prosperity of a man or nation, and that every form of sorrow or disaster was due to the withdrawal of the divine favour.

Further it was assumed that retribution must come in this life.

It must be remembered that a Hebrew regarded the family or tribe as the unit rather than the individual. Early Hebrew law and custom sanctioned the punishment of children for the offences of the fathers, and naturally Jehovah was supposed to have similar ideas of justice. The households of Dathan and Abiram suffer with them (Num. xvi. 30–35). Achan's family are put to death with him (Josh. vii. 24 ff.): David executed seven innocent descendants of Saul (2 Sam. xxi). Jehovah is declared to visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation (Ex. xx). Ahab's sin is visited upon his son (1 Kings xxi. 29). Jehu's righteousness is rewarded by his dynasty lasting for four generations after him (2 Kings x. 30).

With the rise of individualism in the latter part of the seventh and the sixth centuries B.C. (Jer. xxxi. 29; Ezek. xviii) the criminal law was to some extent modified (Deut. xxiv. 16); but the old ideas of Jehovah's methods of retribution still continued to be held.

Since prosperity was regarded as a mark of the divine favour, no prophet ever preached repentance when the

horizon was unclouded: though the prophet himself might be the only person to see the threatening cloud.

Since it is difficult to believe that Ezekiel would have been so well informed about the Temple ritual unless he had actually ministered there as a priest, we must suppose that at the time of his captivity (597 B.C.) he must have been a man of full age. According to Num. iv. 3 this would be *thirty*, so that if this rule existed as early as the time of Ezekiel, and he had ministered long enough to be familiar with all the Temple procedure, say not less than five years, he would have been born as early as 632, i.e. some six years before the beginning of Jeremiah's ministry in 626 B.C., and nine or ten years before Josiah's great reformation. He may have been even older, for there is nothing in the book to indicate that he was a very young man at the time of his captivity, and the last date in his book is the twenty-fifth year of his captivity, i.e. some twenty years after his call, which is dated on the fifth day of the fourth month (i.e. approximately July 26, 592).[1]

If then we may assume that Ezekiel was born as early as 632 B.C., and perhaps still earlier, we may consider the chief events which he must have witnessed, and which coloured his life and thought. As a child he must have known the extreme anxiety caused in Judah by the report of the ravages of the Scythian hordes in the north (626 B.C.), and must have heard of Jeremiah's call to repentance. This Scythian invasion, which he expected to be repeated, has suggested the prophecy of Gog and Magog. Though the Scythians did not actually

[1] The number of the years are clearly those of the Babylonian years beginning in the spring. The year is said to be the fifth of the captivity, or rather exile, of Jehoiakim. It is not clear whether in dating from the captivity (i. 2, xl. 1) Ezekiel dates from his capture at Jerusalem or from his taking up his residence in Babylonia. We do not know at what time of the year Jehoiachin surrendered. Possibly the date in Jer. lii. 28 (cf. xxxii. 1) is that of Jehoiachin's *surrender*, and the date in 2 Kings xxiv. 12 of his arrival in Babylon.

invade Judah, they apparently swept through Galilee, leaving a permanent settlement at Beth-shan (Scythopolis) and they ultimately advanced along the Philistine plain as far south as Ashkelon.

As a boy then Ezekiel lived at a time when there was general anxiety, and calls to repentance were general, though there would be the greatest controversy as to what it was which should be repented of. In any case, even if he were not sufficiently old at the time of Josiah's reform of the Temple and suppression of the sanctuaries to take an interest in what was going on, he must have heard the whole history of the time from eye-witnesses. It is, however, more probable that he was old enough at this time to remember in after years what was being said. Inasmuch as his father was a priest, Ezekiel lived in a home where there must have been incessant discussion about the events of 621 and their sequel in the following years.

It will be well briefly to recall what these events were.

(1) At the Temple itself, besides the abolition of certain newly introduced cults, probably of Assyrian origin, Josiah abolished objects and customs which at the time were centuries old, and had their roots in the old Canaanite religion, e.g. the Asherah and the sacred men *ḳedeshim*—and presumably sacred women *ḳedeshoth* (2 Kings xxiii. 6, 7; cf. Deut. xxiii. 17; Gen. xxxviii. 21; Hosea iv. 14).

(2) Just outside the Temple proper Josiah defiled the Topheth—popularly regarded as a most holy place—and forbade the sacrifice, hitherto legal (cf. Ex. xxii. 29, 30, xxxiv. 19; Micah vi. 7; Deut. xviii. 10), of the firstborn.

(3) Josiah suppressed all the local sanctuaries, destroying in them, and probably at the Temple also, the phallic representations and Priapus-like images (Ezek. xvi. 17, 18) which were a feature of what was in

reality the old Canaanite worship, but which was practised ostensibly in the name of Jehovah.

All these things, even if Ezekiel had not actually seen them, he must have heard spoken of continually, and their abolition vehemently canvassed. It is important to remember this, for it explains to a great extent what otherwise appears to be the absolutely unnecessary and unwarrantable coarseness of Ezekiel.

It had been Josiah's intention that the priests of the closed local sanctuaries should be allowed to minister with the Zadokite priests at Jerusalem (cf. the later legislation in Deut. xviii. 6–8). This the Zadokite priests opposed (2 Kings xxiii. 9; cf. Ezek. xliv. 10–14) so that, although the dispossessed country priests did succeed in obtaining some footing at the Temple, they were prevented by the Zadokites from going up to the altar, and were placed on an inferior footing.

This could not have been effected without furious controversy, controversy which as a boy Ezekiel would have known only from the Zadokites' point of view. This fact also explains much of his bias.

It is clear from Lev. xvii (H), which undoubtedly represents what was regarded as law at the Temple at the time of Ezekiel's exile, that Josiah, when he closed the local sanctuaries, made no concession with regard to the slaughter of domestic animals, which were sacred and could only be slaughtered at a sanctuary. Evidently Josiah found it no easy matter to induce the Zadokite priests to accept his reforms, and was willing to make some concession to their prejudices. Since the priests' incomes depended to a great extent on their share of the sacrificial victims (Deut. xviii. 3, "the shoulder, the two cheeks and the maw"), the non-sacrificial slaughter of domestic animals meant the loss to the priests of their perquisites. But people who lived at a distance from Jerusalem, and who wished to feast their friends on a stalled ox, were not inclined to face the fatigue and

expense of transporting guests and dinner to Jerusalem, and they began to kill their fatlings non-sacrificially. We can well imagine what furious indignation there would be among the Zadokite priests in Jerusalem when news of these irregularities reached their ears: we can imagine that they would refuse to believe that the blood had been drained from the carcase, unless they themselves saw it in a bowl to be splashed on the altar, *plus* the shoulder, the two cheeks and the maw set aside for their own use. We can understand therefore how Ezekiel, as he grew to manhood, had been accustomed to hear of "eating with the blood" (אכל על הדם) spoken of as crime of the deepest dye (cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 25; xviii. 6, 11, 15 reading הדם for ההרים), and how in his eyes it was classed with adultery, robbery and violence.

We shall certainly do less than justice to Ezekiel, unless we remember that he had grown up, not only in a time of furious controversy, but among people who believed that their material prosperity was intimately connected with what they had accepted as ritually correct. If Ezekiel often seems to us harsh and unlovable, we shall do well to ask ourselves whether, if we had grown up in his environment, our tempers would have been conciliatory and kindly.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that Josiah's reforms were essentially a compromise. In retaining sacrifice at all, Josiah came far short of the teaching of Jeremiah and of his great prophetic predecessors, Micah, Isaiah, Hosea, and Amos, who had desired to abolish sacrifice altogether: but he went as far as he could go without alienating those without whose support his throne would not have been worth a day's purchase: and in retaining the Temple as a place of sacrifice, while ridding it of its worst abominations, Josiah had doubtless to put a considerable amount of pressure on most, if not all, the Zadokite priests, whose corporation had been in possession of the priesthood at Jerusalem ever

since the days of Solomon. Consequently Ezekiel had grown up among people who, while they had accepted, or had had forced upon them, certain reforming ideas of the prophets, clung to sacrifice which the prophets *certainly* repudiated, and to circumcision, which the prophets *probably* rejected (see Jer. iv. 4, ix. 25, 26, where the text has probably been modified; Josh. v. 2, 9; Ex. iv. 24–26). We may compare such people to the Jewish Christians in Apostolic times, who tried to maintain all the ritual requirements of the law, and could not see that they were at variance with a belief in the teaching of our Lord.

Later memories of Ezekiel would be the break-up of the Assyrian Empire about 612 B.C. and the subsequent attempt to maintain with Egyptian support Assyrian domination west of the Euphrates; the determination of Pharaoh Necoh (608) to make himself in name as well as in fact suzerain of this reduced kingdom of Assyria and its vassals; his summons to Josiah to meet him at Megiddo, and the putting to death of Josiah when he refused to take an oath of allegiance to Pharaoh (2 Kings xxiii. 29); the deposition of Jehoahaz (Shallum) and his deportation to Egypt after a three months' reign, and the placing of Jehoiakim (Eliakim) upon the throne. Ezekiel would also remember the shock which the death of Josiah caused to the reforming movement (since it would be argued that Jehovah had shewn His displeasure with the arch-reformer); and following upon this shock, Ezekiel would have seen the gradual recrudescence of superstitions which Josiah had abolished, as well perhaps as the introduction of new superstitions. He would remember the rebuilding of the Topheth (Jer. vii. 31), the introduction into the Temple itself of rites secretly practised (see Ezek. vii), and the recrudescence of various forms of magic (Ezek. xiii. 17–23; cf. Isaiah iii. 20).

Ezekiel would remember also the defeat of Pharaoh

Necoh at the battle of Carchemish in 605, and the jubilation in Palestine at the idea that by his defeat the Palestinian states had regained independence. He would recollect also the disillusionment when, some two or three years later, Nebuchadnezzar exacted the submission of Jehoiakim, and in their disillusionment men began to impugn the justice of Jehovah, arguing that He was punishing them, not for what they had done, but for what their fathers had done (Jer. xxxi. 30 ff.; Ezek. xviii).

Ezekiel would also remember the restlessness of the ruling classes under Chaldean supremacy, the efforts of Jeremiah to prevent rebellion, and the consequent persecution of that prophet, towards whom his feelings were probably similar to those of Saul of Tarsus before his conversion towards S. Stephen: for did not Jeremiah desire to break down that which Ezekiel's fellow-priests were determined to maintain? These things, with Jehoiakim's revolt, the siege of Jerusalem, Jehoiakim's death, the accession of Jehoiachin and his surrender three months later, were all recent memories when Ezekiel began to write.

We may say "began to write" for in all probability Ezekiel was the first of the canonical prophets himself to commit his teaching to writing, though Jeremiah had directed Baruch to make a collection of his (Jeremiah's) prophecies some twelve years before and *may* himself have written his later utterances; and probably the prophecies of Isaiah, Micah, Amos and Hosea were current in writing in prophetic circles. So much for the external events and influences which had moulded Ezekiel's character up to the time of his transportation to Babylon. We must now ask a question frequently ignored, but of the greatest importance: Was Ezekiel acquainted with any document having the authority of Scripture? It is generally assumed that he was, and indeed that it was the possession of Deuteronomy which

enabled Ezekiel and his fellow-exiles to maintain the religion of Jehovah in a foreign land.

But it is impossible to suppose that Deuteronomy was accepted as Scripture at the time of Ezekiel's transportation: for the rule of sacrifice as laid down in the Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii) is undoubtedly earlier than the corresponding law in Deut. xii. The Law of Holiness bears the greatest resemblance to Ezekiel's teaching, and in its ritual ordinances undoubtedly reflects what was accepted by the Zadokite priests at the time of the Captivity.

Further, although the *law* of D shews signs of being influenced by the higher teaching of the prophets in various directions, D still follows to a great extent in its *social* legislation old Canaanite customs; e.g. in the matter of levirate marriages (Deut. xxv. 5–10), and in the recognition of polygamy (Deut. xxi. 15); though it forbids the taking of a father's wife (Deut. xxii. 30), which had originally been lawful (2 Sam. xvi. 21–23).[1]

Ezekiel, however, shews no sign of recognition of polygamy (Ezek. xxiv. 15–24), in which respect he resembles the rest of the canonical prophets; and the Law of Holiness, which probably expresses Ezekiel's teaching, forbids levirate marriages (Lev. xviii. 16).

There can be little doubt that at the time of Ezekiel's transportation both J and E were in existence. E, which probably owes its origin to the attempt to Israelitise the heterogeneous population of Samaria in the seventh century B.C., was probably confined to that province; and J, which probably was originally composed by Hebronite priests, or by prophets attached to the sanctuary of Hebron, after Josiah's reform in 621 B.C., was utterly repudiated by Jeremiah and his school (Jer. vii. 21 ff., viii. 8), and must have been equally

[1] Thus whereas E and J (Ex. xxxiv. 20 is due to R) allow the sacrifice of the firstborn, D (xviii. 10) forbids it. Deut. xxiv. 16 is clearly a reform of earlier practice; cf. 2 Sam. xxi.

objectionable to the Zadokite priests at Jerusalem, since it represented the sanctuary at Hebron (the legitimacy of which Zadokite priests would not admit for a moment) as founded in consequence of a theophany there vouchsafed to Abraham.

The only passage which might suggest that Ezekiel was influenced by a written document is iii. 1–3, where he is described as "eating" (i.e. reading, marking, learning and inwardly digesting) a roll full of lamentations and woe, which was in his mouth as honey for sweetness. He found in this roll *sweetness*, probably because the calamities which it announced vindicated Jehovah's justice. It is however unnecessary to identify this roll with any existing document. Ezekiel claims to utter what God puts in his mouth.

It is, indeed, certain that the preservation of the religion of Jehovah among the exiles in Babylon is not due to their possession of J, E, or D. We must look for another explanation—and we find that explanation in Ezekiel, though we may perhaps suppose that even from the beginning he was not altogether alone, but had some like-minded with himself.

In the first place, it must not be forgotten that those who were carried to Babylonia in 597 B.C. firmly believed that they would shortly return to their own home (see Jer. xxviii); and therefore, those who like Ezekiel held strict views about ceremonial cleanness would be encouraged to put up with temporary inconvenience in order not to defile themselves. If they had realised how long these inconveniences would last, they would perhaps have hesitated to submit to them. It must be remembered that, as the subsequent law in Deut. xii shews, they were debarred from eating the flesh of any domestic animals, only game being permissible to them. This would practically involve vegetarianism, while fear of defilement through partaking of the unclean would cut them off from social

intercourse with the Babylonians. The result of this would be that those who were lax would cease to be Jews, while those who were strict would become even more strict in their Judaism. They would of course be able to keep the sabbath, and Ezekiel and those like-minded with him would doubtless take advantage of this to give religious teaching. In one respect the sojourn in a foreign land perhaps modified a religious rite. It is evident from Josh. iv. 2–9, the writing of which is probably not later than the second half of the sixth century B.C., that circumcision had hitherto been performed as an initiation rite on the arrival at manhood. From the fact that Moses himself was uncircumcised (Ex. iv. 24–26) notwithstanding that he had been brought up among circumcised Egyptians, and that the people who grew up under his leadership were uncircumcised (Josh. v. 5), we may infer that circumcision is not Mosaic but Canaanite. Indeed from Jer. iv. 4 and ix. 25, 26—which have not improbably been somewhat modified to bring them into conformity with the later law—it seems likely that Jeremiah, and probably his prophetic predecessors, repudiated circumcision as well as sacrifice.

It is clear from Josh. v that among those pre-exilic Israelites who were really Canaanite by descent, circumcision was performed at a holy place set apart for the purpose where the severed foreskins were buried. A barbarous rite of the kind indicated—it was performed with flint knives—is still practised in many parts of Africa at the present day; and, being barbarous, it may well have been difficult to perform among the civilised natives of Babylonia. There had, however, been current in Judah—the story may have grown up by way of meeting the assertion that Moses to the end of his life remained uncircumcised—the story that Moses had been vicariously circumcised in the person of his infant son. There was thus a precedent for infant circumcision

—which it was easier to perform in Babylonia than adult circumcision—and the fixing of the eighth day, which is the rule in P, is doubtless due to the fact that the offering of the firstborn to Jehovah was fixed for the eighth day (Ex. xxii. 29 f.).

Since the vision of Ezekiel in chap. i, which is perhaps to some extent based on Isaiah vi, seems to describe what was in effect Ezekiel's call to be a prophet, we naturally ask why this call came to him only after he had been in exile more than four years. Probably upon first reaching Babylonia he, like his fellow-Jews, anticipated a speedy return. When this anticipation was disappointed, and the news which reached Ezekiel of what was going on at Jerusalem grew more and more disquieting, he became assured that the end of the exile was not in sight. It is probable, however, that it was not until twenty years later that he himself abandoned the idea of seeing Jerusalem again. Then, twenty-four years after the beginning of his exile, he set himself to sketch an improved form of temple for the time when it should be possible to rebuild it, as well as the rites and ceremonies which he hoped would be there adopted.

It is evident that in the sixth century B.C. there was a good deal of communication between Babylonia and Palestine, and from his home on the river Chebar, i.e. the *Naru kabaru* or Grand Canal south-east of Babylon, Ezekiel watched the course of events and drew their moral. He was kept informed not only of the social and political situation in Judah, but also of its religious condition, and of the ever-growing recrudescence of superstitions, though some of these were not as yet openly practised. Ezekiel was married—and his description of his wife as "the desire of his eyes" at the time of her death—was it the stifling climate of Babylonia that killed her?—is almost the only hint in the book that he was capable of human affection. Even his wife's death, however, did not shake his adamantine

sternness. Whether he had children of his own we do not know: we can scarcely imagine that he would have pictured Jerusalem, as a later prophet pictured it, "full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof" (Zech. viii. 5).

Whatever was the immediate cause of Ezekiel's considering himself a prophet, the conviction which he has set forth in characteristic fashion in chap. i came to him in the fifth year of his exile and the fifth year of the reign of Zedekiah. Isaiah had felt himself to be a prophet when he realised Jehovah's ineffable holiness and majesty and His universal sovereignty. Something of the same kind seems to have been felt by Ezekiel; but, living as he was among idol-worshippers, and being perpetually on his guard to keep his fellow-Jews from thinking of Jehovah as the heathen Babylonians thought of their gods, he shews an anxiety, unknown among the older prophets, to avoid anthropomorphism and to make it clear that Jehovah possesses no material human body. Now in the older Judæan folk-lore with which we are acquainted, Jehovah's garden is represented as guarded by Cherubim—a conception perhaps derived from Babylon many centuries before the time of Ezekiel. These *Cherubim* Ezekiel now represents as holding up a firmament of crystal, over which there is a blue throne like sapphire on which Jehovah is enthroned. The anxiety to avoid materialistic conceptions is most evident. "Above the firmament that was over their heads was the *likeness* of a throne, as the *appearance* of a sapphire stone; and upon the *likeness* of the throne was a *likeness* as the *appearance* of a man above it" (i. 26). Isaiah naturally enough pictured Jehovah as enthroned in the Temple at Jerusalem; but Ezekiel desires to represent Him as present in Babylonia not less than at Jerusalem, and therefore for Isaiah's fixed throne he substitutes a throne on a platform borne by moving Cherubim. It is not improbable that Ezekiel

had seen some natural solar phenomenon which suggested to him some of the details of the so-called *vision* —it must not be forgotten that John Bunyan represented the *Pilgrim's Progress* as a *dream*—but in all probability his "vision", like that of Isaiah, is to be understood as conscious allegory.

Now all allegory is only extended metaphor, and it must always be remembered that to a Hebrew the *sense* of the metaphor was everything, and its outward form, so long as the sense was made clear, was not to be pressed. A Hebrew could therefore blend together metaphors which to our prosaic minds are irreconcilable. This natural tendency in Hebrew speech was the more easily indulged in, because, since the Hebrew did not draw or carve, he was not compelled to use descriptions which could be pictorially represented. No artist, however great his skill, can produce a picture of, say, the scenes related in Dan. vii, or of some description in the book of the Revelation; for the simple reason that it did not occur to the Hebrew authors of such passages that any artist would be fool enough to attempt such a thing. The vision of Ezekiel—if anyone attempt to draw what Ezekiel describes—is as ridiculous as a picture of a beast with ten horns, among which comes up another, a little horn, with eyes of a man and a mouth speaking great things; or the picture of "a lamb as it had been slain with seven horns and seven eyes" possessing itself of a book. If, instead of attempting the impossible, we ask ourselves the meaning of each *detail* in Ezekiel's description, the meaning is obvious, and the teaching of each detail can be combined into a consistent whole.

A century and a half before the time of Ezekiel Isaiah had shewn the way, for an allegorical purpose, to modify an animal form. Ezekiel therefore had ancient precedent for describing composite animal forms. We notice in this allegory a feature which here appears for the first time in Hebrew literature, but which in

after-times is common, viz. the introduction of the number *four* (cf. Zech. vi). The number has reference to the four points of the compass, north, south, east, and west, and is due to the fact that the sovereignty claimed by Nebuchadnezzar and his successors embraced the whole of the world with which the Jews were acquainted. There are four cherubic forms each one of which has four faces, the symbolism of which is probably as follows: the *human* face denotes reason and intelligence and power to hold communion with Jehovah (as in Dan. vii); the *lion* face denotes Jehovah's wrath against sin (cf. Amos i. 2, iii. 8; Jer. xxv. 30); the *ox* or *bull* (שׁוֹר) denotes strength (the שׁוֹר is mentioned as ploughing Deut. xxii. 10, threshing Deut. xxv. 4); the *eagle*, or rather *vulture*, denotes what is swift and untiring (cf. Hosea viii. 1; Jer. iv. 13 &c.).

Ezekiel means us to think of the cherub-borne platform on which the divine throne is supported as appearing exactly the same whether viewed from north, south, east, or west. Just as Assyrian and Babylonian sculpture represented lions and bulls with *five* legs, in order that four legs might be seen from different points of view, so Ezekiel represents not what would actually move at all, but what *looks as if it would move* in any direction without turning. His insistence on the fact that the cherubim do not turn when they move is in order to emphasise Jehovah's superiority to local conceptions. With Him there is no back and front but it is always front; that is, He can see in every direction without turning. Similarly the somewhat *bizarre* combinations of wheels with wings is in order to shew that earth and heaven alike are open to Him. The wheels are full of eyes implying the impossibility of concealing anything from Him.[1]

[1] It must be remembered that in Palestine on the mountains wheeled vehicles were rare, and even the war chariots which were in use in Israel and among the Syrians were probably heavy and slow. At any

There can be little doubt that by the details of the vision Ezekiel meant to convey an idea of Jehovah's majesty and of His superiority to the conceptions of God which were to be found among the heathen. Many a king of antiquity claimed divine honours, so that men scarcely recognised the difference between the divine and the human (cf. Isaiah xiv. 13; Ezek. xxviii. 2); hence Ezekiel represents Jehovah as addressing him as "son of man", i.e. human being: inasmuch as Jehovah will allow no one, not even the prophet whom He inspires, to forget the distinction between God and man. Ezekiel has assimilated a declaration of lamentation and woe over the impending ruin of Israel, which Jehovah has put in his mouth, and it is characteristic of him that this delights him. He, Ezekiel, has denounced sin, and no one has heeded his warning; he is now convinced that he will be vindicated. It must not be forgotten that it was on the whole the best elements of the population of Judah and Jerusalem that were carried off in the first transportation. Jeremiah compares those who went into captivity with Ezekiel to good figs (Jer. xxiv) and those who were left behind to bad figs. Ezekiel evidently had a similar opinion (cf. xi. 15, xxxiii. 24 ff.)—hence he was particularly anxious to keep the exiles loyal to Jehovah. The circumstances in which they lived made it impossible to appeal to them *en masse*; hence Ezekiel develops a care for individuals, and he thus becomes the prototype of the Christian pastor (cf. ii, iii, xxxiv).

Ezekiel had grown up in the midst of controversy, and had developed a somewhat hard dogmatism. He feels that Jehovah must be just, that His ways must be equal; but when he is confronted with the undoubted

rate Elijah was able to keep in front of Ahab's chariot for some eighteen miles, and Gehazi running was able to overtake Naaman driving. The Assyrian chariots seem to have impressed the Israelites by their swiftness (cf. Isaiah v. 28).

fact that in this life children do suffer for their father's sins, he can only meet it with a dogmatic denial (chap. xviii); though it may be admitted that in this denial he has helped to pave the way for the Christian recognition of the fact that a man may have peace with God even in the midst of tribulation.

Ezekiel's dogmatism, which was partly the result of his upbringing, prevented him from learning the lessons inherent in the truths which he proclaimed. He insists upon Jehovah's superiority to material existence; yet he continues to think of holiness as a physical quality. The priests for example, when they leave the Temple, must first divest themselves of the garments in which they have been ministering, "lest they sanctify the people with their garments". "Eating with the blood" (xxxiii. 25; cf. xviii. 6, 11, 15) is in Ezekiel's eyes as serious an offence as adultery, robbery, or violence.

In his political outlook Ezekiel seems to have regarded Nebuchadnezzar as an instrument in Jehovah's hand (cf. Isaiah x. 5). He was convinced that the Jews would be restored to Judæa, and that the dynasty of David would be restored. To him indeed there was only one legitimate dynasty, viz. that of David, and one legitimate priesthood, viz. that of the sons of Zadok; and in his insistence on both these points Ezekiel did a disservice to Israel. It was doubtless to a great extent Ezekiel's insistence on what amounted to the Divine right of the house of David that induced Zerubbabel on his appointment as Governor of Judæa to take a high-handed line—with disastrous results. It was Ezekiel's insistence on the rights of the Zadokites and on the ritual which was traditional among them that led to that amazing development of ritual ordinances now known as the Priestly Code; and in regard both to the sovereignty of David and to the exclusive priesthood of the Zadokites Jesus has broken down for ever that which Ezekiel laboured to build up. On the other

hand the ritual ordinances, to the elaboration of which Ezekiel gave the impetus, did at least serve as a husk which protected the kernel of monotheism, and in later days enabled it to bear unscathed the impact of Hellenism: yet even in this connexion it may be said that the husk was so hard, so almost petrified, as to make it well-nigh impossible for the seed which it contained to germinate. In much of the prophetic literature, even in some of the grandest passages, we cannot avoid a sense of disappointment, as we realise the limitations of the prophets' ideals. This is peculiarly the case with Ezekiel. When he seems to be lifting us to heaven, he suddenly brings us down to earth with a jerk. When we read his hope that his people shall be cleansed from all uncleanness, and shall be given a new heart, we are inclined to imagine that we are being led to think of a state of spiritual blessedness such as our Saviour describes. To Ezekiel, however, the result of the cleansing of men's hearts is not a vision of God, but an increase in material prosperity. In Ezekiel's mouth our Saviour's beatitude would have run, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall have good harvests, and shall be free from toil and anxiety".

Ezekiel's influence on subsequent ages has been enormous. Legalists, writers of apocalypses, and psalmists are all in great measure dependent upon him. He was the father of Judaism, but of a Judaism in which the Gospel could not germinate. In Jeremiah on the other hand we see "as in a mirror darkly" the truth which Jesus Christ made manifest in all its glory. Of Ezekiel's teaching the almost inevitable outcome was Caiaphas: while Jeremiah marked out the way which led to Jesus Christ.

iij

THE JEWISH PRIESTHOOD

THERE is, unfortunately, at the present time in many quarters a disposition to regard systematic study of the Old Testament as a matter with which Christians in general have little concern, which may therefore be left to archæological and literary experts. It is indeed generally admitted that much which former generations believed about the Old Testament is untenable. Few people nowadays will attempt to maintain, for example, either the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch or the Ussherian system of chronology. If, however, we bear in mind the enormous influence which the Old Testament, as it was formerly understood, has exercised upon Christian thought during many centuries, we must surely acknowledge that any far-reaching alteration in our conception of its nature *may* have an important bearing upon what as Christians we ought to know and believe to our souls' health. Few people will deny that the Old Testament has served as a scaffold or rather as centering for the arch of modern Christian belief. If all the stones of that arch are sound and are well and truly laid, the arch will of course remain unshaken even though the centering be taken away. If, however, the centering is removed, it becomes of the utmost importance to ascertain whether the arch can stand by itself and support a superincumbent weight, or whether it is really dependent upon the centering.

A very large number, probably the majority of English Christians who have reached middle age, were taught in their childhood to regard the worship of the tabernacle in the wilderness as a divinely ordered system designed

to foreshadow the Christian dispensation. It is therefore of first importance that we should inquire whether there really is that close connexion between the tabernacle and the Christian faith which the older teaching took for granted. If such an inquiry should prove this connexion, those who have taken it for granted will benefit by the strengthening of their belief; if, on the other hand it should disprove it, surely it must be well for the defence of the Christian faith that we should abandon an indefensible position. We are not loyal followers of our Lord Jesus Christ if we set ourselves simply to defend the traditions of the elders. Truth and tradition may in certain cases be identical, but it is un-Christian to assume their identity.

Now it must be admitted even by the most uncompromising die-hard that the traditional view of the origin of the Pentateuch requires us to accept a story of the origin of the Jewish priesthood which is not only, to put it mildly, improbable, but which implies on the part of God an arbitrariness which it is difficult to reconcile with justice.

Briefly, the story is as follows: Moses, when a fugitive in the land of Midian, receives a command to return to Egypt and there to demand of Pharaoh the release of the Hebrews. He attempts to excuse himself on the ground that he is not eloquent. He is told that Aaron his brother can speak well, and that he, Aaron, shall be his spokesman to the people. But no sooner has Moses got back to Egypt than he develops an eloquence and courage which makes Aaron's presence altogether superfluous. Moses is throughout the guiding spirit. It is his rod, not Aaron's, which is stretched out over the sea. The revelation of Jehovah's will is always made to him. He announces the gift of the manna and the quails. He brings the water from the rock. He appoints Joshua to select an army to fight against Amalek, keeping with himself not only Aaron, but also,

apparently on an equal footing, a man named Hur not previously mentioned. Moses appoints judges to govern the people. Upon the arrival at Sinai Moses goes up to the sacred mountain, and on his return—without the aid of Aaron—he reports to the elders the revelation made to him. He returns to the mountain, and is told that Aaron is to come up with him, but that the priests, who are now suddenly introduced upon the scene, are to remain below with the people. In the sequel (Ex. xxiv) the orders previously given to Moses are changed. Moses takes with him to the holy mountain not only Aaron but also Nadab and Abihu (who later on are represented as two of the four sons of Aaron) and seventy of the elders of Israel. Moses then directs a sacrifice to be held, and *he* performs the more priestly part of the ritual. He then ascends the sacred mountain with Aaron, Nadab and Abihu and the seventy elders who all take part in a sacred feast and see the God of Israel. Apparently the whole party descends from the mountain, and again Moses is summoned to ascend. This time he leaves Aaron and Hur in charge of the people, and takes with him the Ephraimite Joshua. During his absence of forty days—how Joshua is occupied all this time is not stated—Aaron assumes leadership, and under pressure from the people makes the golden calf. Meanwhile Moses in the sacred mountain is receiving elaborate instructions as to the making of the tabernacle and the consecration of Aaron and his four sons, viz. Nadab and Abihu, who have been mentioned before, and Eleazar and Ithamar, who now are mentioned for the first time. Meticulous directions are given both as to Aaron's vestments and also to those of his sons. The tables of stone are delivered to Moses, after which Jehovah suddenly bids Moses return because the people have made a molten calf, and He threatens to exterminate them. Moses, however, deprecates His wrath and makes intercession for them. But though

Moses succeeds in placating Jehovah, his own temper will not stand the strain of the provocation caused by the sight of the apostasy, and he appeals for helpers to join him in a general massacre of the people for whom he has just been pleading before Jehovah. The Levites respond to his appeal and slaughter about 3000. Aaron however, gets off scot free, the punishment falling only upon the people. After another visit of Moses to the sacred mountain Aaron is consecrated high priest and his four sons assistant priests, the already existing priests disappearing as suddenly as they first appeared. Two of Aaron's four sons, Nadab and Abihu, being apparently under the impression that fire is fire, however kindled, are slain by fire from Jehovah, and thenceforth Aaron and his two remaining sons, Eleazar and Ithamar, are required to perform all the exclusively priestly functions for a population that could put into the field 600,000 men. Some time afterwards the Levites are set apart as an order inferior to the priests for the more menial service of the tabernacle, and thereafter there are the three orders, the high priest, the priests and the Levites.

Such is a brief summary of the account of the origin of the priesthood in Israel. Its improbabilities, not to say impossibilities, are at once evident, and it is unnecessary to dwell upon them. The only possible solution of the difficulty lies in a recognition of the facts, abundantly evident in other parts of the Pentateuch, that the Law is not a homogeneous work, but a compilation of documents of diverse dates and *provenance*, which have been combined with a considerable amount of ingenuity, but which, in spite of sundry attempts to explain away difficulties, had never been harmonised.

It is unnecessary here to give an account of the methods by which it has been found possible to analyse the Pentateuch into its component documents: it will be sufficient to enumerate these documents and to give

a very brief account of their characteristics. Taking them in the order in which we encounter them as we start at Genesis i they are as follows:

1. The Priestly Code (denoted by the symbol P) which is found in Genesis, Exodus and Numbers, and probably a few verses at the end of Deuteronomy.

2. The Jahvistic document (denoted by the symbol J) which begins at Gen. ii. 4 *b* and is found in Genesis, Exodus and Numbers.

3. The Elohistic document (denoted by the symbol E) which can first be recognised in Gen. xx and, like J, is found in Genesis, Exodus and Numbers.

4. Lastly the book of Deuteronomy (D) which in the main is a separate book.

None of these documents is quite homogeneous, various strata being discernible in each. P in particular has embedded in it an older nucleus (Lev. xvii–xxvi *mainly*) which, since it deals largely with matters of holiness, is commonly known as the Law of Holiness and is denoted by the symbol H.

It is generally agreed that of these documents J and E were combined together before any other part of the Pentateuch was added to them. The combined book is known as JE, and the editor who combined them made some additions and also introduced a number of modifications tending in the direction of the law of Deuteronomy.

It is also generally agreed that J, which is so called because of its preference for the name Jahveh, emanates from Judah, and that E, so called because of its use of the name Elohim, originated in central Palestine, where the tribe of Ephraim was dominant. D, which clearly rests upon JE, arose in western Palestine. H, from its close resemblance to Ezekiel must be regarded as representing the law of the reformed temple as it had taken shape among the Zadokite priests at the time of the Babylonian Captivity. P appears to have taken shape

in Babylonia and to have been first published in Palestine in the time of Nehemiah.

It is noteworthy that in the pre-exilic prophets there is no indication of the existence of any law book till the time of Jeremiah, and that Jeremiah repudiates violently (viii. 8) a book which in his days was represented as expressing the teaching of Jehovah.

It is probable that the several documents should be dated somewhat as follows:

E about 650 B.C. (or perhaps somewhat later) drawn up for the sake of the heterogeneous population of Samaria after the introduction of colonists from various localities. This document encourages the building of altars in every place consecrated to Jehovah, and it mentions human sacrifice without reprobation.

J is apparently a counterblast to Josiah's reformation and embodies the tradition of the Judæan high places which Josiah had closed and which many people desired to have reopened. It is probably of this that Jeremiah declares that a lying pen of scribes has dealt falsely.

The combination of J and E into JE can be best explained on the hypothesis that it marks the acceptance by the Samaritans of the principle of the one sanctuary which had hitherto only been established in Judah.

D represents an attempt still further to unify the country and to introduce reforms with regard to customs tolerated by JE. It was originally intended entirely to supersede JE; but though D became accepted as law, popular prejudice was too strong to do away with JE. H represents a development of law parallel to, and simultaneous with, that of D, but confined to Zadokite circles in Babylonia.

P, which incorporates H, is an attempt to provide a substitute for JE D on the lines desired by the Zadokite priestly lawyers in Babylon. But as the Palestinian community would not give up the law books which they already possessed, P was combined with them; thus

producing the Pentateuch substantially as we have it. The publication of this is probably to be dated about the year 433 B.C. after Nehemiah had been appointed Governor of Judah.

We have now to consider what can be learnt from each of these documents with reference to the priesthood. In the Priestly Code, which represents the Passover in Egypt as the first sacrifice ever offered, there is no hint of the possibility of more than one sanctuary. Here the priestly system is fully developed, viz. high priest, priests sons of Aaron, and Levites.

The Law of Holiness (embedded in P) lays down the rule of a central sanctuary to which all domestic animals slain must be brought, and where the priest must sprinkle the blood on the altar and burn the fat. We do not learn, however, from H anything as to the status of the priest.

In Deuteronomy there is no mention of any high priest, or of an Aaronite priesthood. The priests who are actually ministering are described as "the priests, the Levites", but the term *Levite* seems to be used of anyone qualified to serve as priest, whether he is serving at the central sanctuary or not.

Unlike the Priestly Code (which represents the name Jehovah as first revealed to Moses, and sacrifices as first instituted by Moses, the Passover in Egypt being the first Israelite sacrifice) the Jahvistic document, which embodies ancient traditions of southern Palestine, represents the cult of Jehovah as dating from the time of Enosh the son of Seth and sacrifices as offered at a still earlier date, while sanctuaries, such as Hebron and Beersheba (which continued at least as late as 621 B.C.), are regarded as founded by patriarchs. The patriarchs themselves are represented as sacrificing without the mediation or assistance of any priests; but, inasmuch as the ancient sanctuaries were generally on the site of some theophany, their founders were probably regarded as *ipso facto* constituted priests.

It is clear that the author or authors of the Jahvistic document believed that organised religion of Jehovah had existed in Israel from the earliest times, for on the arrival at Sinai the command is given (Ex. xix. 22–24), "Let the priests also, which come near to Jehovah, sanctify themselves, lest Jehovah break forth upon them...and let not the priests and the people break through to come up unto Jehovah".

There is no other reference to priests in the Jahvistic narrative, which however has not come down to us in its entirety.

The Elohistic document, like the Jahvistic, represents the patriarchs as sacrificing and founding sanctuaries, but has no indication of the existence of any priesthood among the Israelites during the Egyptian bondage. At the sacred mountain, which E calls Horeb and which is probably absolutely distinct from Sinai, Moses, who is stated in E to be of the house of Levi, builds an altar at the foot of the mountain, and sets up twelve *massebboth* or standing stones, a regular mark of a sanctuary. It is said that "he sent young men of the children of Israel" —there is no mention of their being Levites—"which offered burnt offerings and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen unto Jehovah" (Ex. xxiv. 4 f.). At first sight it looks as though these young men carried out the whole ritual of the sacrifices; but this is probably not what the writer intended, for in the following verse he adds, "And Moses took half of the blood, and put it in basons; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar". Thus in the matter of the blood all the priestly ritual is performed by *Moses*, and it may be assumed that the writer intended the same thing to be understood with reference to the burning of the fat.

This representation of Moses as the sole priest is entirely in harmony with a subsequent passage of E (Ex. xxxiii. 7–11). Note that the term "tent of meeting" —if that be the right translation—is the same as that

which is applied in P to the gorgeous tabernacle, but that it is here pitched outside the camp. It is visited by Moses when it is desired to obtain an oracle, otherwise it is left in the custody of a young *Ephraimite*—Joshua the son of Nun. Nothing is said about any sacrifice in its vicinity. Thus it is evident that between the south Palestinian tradition represented by J and the central Palestinian tradition represented by E there is a great divergence. Both represent Moses during the wilderness period as mediator between Jehovah and the people in the matter of legislation; but whereas J implies that there have been priests throughout the Egyptian bondage, E represents Moses as alone consulting the oracle at the tent of meeting, and assisted not by priests or Levites, but by an Ephraimite, Joshua.

Whether J ever contained an account of a tent similar to E's "tent of meeting" (Ex. xxxiii. 7 ff.) is doubtful. Neither J nor E has any account of the making of an ark, but this has probably been omitted because of the full description in P. The ark is mentioned as something already known in Num. x. 33 (probably E, "mount of Jehovah" being a variant of "mount of God"; cf. *v.* 35), and also in Num. xiv. 44 which may be J. It is possible, however, that these passages are not original and belong to the redactor.

In Moses' historical retrospect (Deut. ix. 20) Aaron is mentioned as having incurred Jehovah's anger at the time of the making of the calf—though it is not said that he made it—and in Deut. x. 6 there is a note (which entirely breaks the connexion of Moses' discourse and must be an insertion in it), to the effect that Aaron died at Moserah and that Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead. This, which is at variance with P's account (in Num. xxxiii. 31–33, 38), is probably a later note in D. It is followed by another note describing the setting apart of the Levites, which *may* be derived from a late stratum of E, but is more probably a later

note by one of the Deuteronomic school. Thus in Deuteronomy Aaron is mentioned only in two passages, of which one (x. 6) is almost certainly a later insertion, and the other (ix. 20) looks like the inference of a later writer deduced from the fact that Aaron, not having been punished for the making of the golden calf, must have been spared through Moses' intercession.

It is difficult to say to what document the story of the consecration of the Levites (Ex. xxxii), in consequence of their taking part in the massacre of the people who had made the calf, is to be assigned. Verse 35 states that "Jehovah smote the people, because they made the calf which Aaron made". Possibly this is an editorial modification and the passage originally ran because they made the calf.

But if in D there is a strong probability that the insertion of Aaron's name is due to a later editor, and that the original draft of the historical retrospect contained no reference to him, a similar conclusion is practically certain in regard to those references to him in JE which represent him as a sort of understudy of Moses. In the first place it is remarkable that Aaron is described as *the Levite*: "Is there not Aaron thy brother the Levite?" (Ex. iv. 14). This must mean the priest; for even if the passage is not original, everyone must have perceived the absurdity of telling a man to what tribe his brother belonged.

But although Aaron is to be Moses' spokesman to the people, only on one occasion afterwards does Aaron act in this capacity—Ex. iv. 30. Elsewhere Moses is bold enough not only to speak to the people, but, what is more, to Pharaoh. Moreover a careful reading of the account in JE of Moses' repeated efforts to induce Pharaoh to let the people go, shews clearly that the name of Aaron did not stand in the original narrative but is due to the redactor of the two documents.

I cannot do better here than reproduce Wellhausen's note on the subject (*Hist. of Israel*, Eng. tr. pp. 142 f. note).

That Aaron was not originally present in J, but owed his introduction to the redactor who combined J and E together into JE, can be shewn best from Ex. vii–x. For Jehovah's *command* to appear before Pharaoh in J is given to Moses alone (vii. 14, 26 [viii. 1], 16 [20], ix. 1, 13, x. 1): it is only in the sequel that Aaron appears along with him four times, always when Pharaoh in distress summons Moses and Aaron in order to ask their intercession. But strangely enough Aaron is afterwards completely ignored again; Moses alone makes answer, speaks solely in his own name and not in Aaron's also (viii. 5, 22, 25 [9, 26, 29]; ix. 29), and although he has not come alone, he goes so and makes his prayer in the singular (viii. 8, 26 [12, 30], ix. 33, x. 18). The change of the number in x. 17 is under these circumstances suspicious enough. It appears as if the Jahvistic editor had held Aaron's presence to be appropriate precisely at the intercession.

But if Aaron's name did not stand in the original J document, but was introduced by the redactor who combined J and E into JE, there is absolutely nothing to imply that Nadab and Abihu were "sons of Aaron" or even priests. Note that in Ex. xxiv. 9 they are mentioned in connexion with "seventy of the elders of Israel"; and the fact that they with the seventy make a total of seventy-two, or six elders for each tribe, confirms the probability that they are here regarded not as priests, but as elders. It is unnecessary to point out the improbability that if Aaron had four sons all destined for the priesthood only two—and these, as the sequel shews, the least satisfactory from a sacerdotal point of view—should be summoned to go up to the holy mountain.

In E the first mention of Aaron is in connexion with Hur, as accompanying Moses during the fight against Amalek in Rephidim (Ex. xvii). There is nothing here to suggest that he is a priest. Similarly Aaron and Hur

are left in charge of the people, apparently as civil governors over the elders, while Moses and Joshua are on the holy mountain (Ex. xxiv. 14). It has already been pointed out that Ex. xxxiii. 7 ff. not only does not mention Aaron in connexion with the sacred tent, but leaves no room for him as priest. The only other ancient passage which mentions Aaron is Micah vi. 4: "I brought thee up out of the land of Egypt and redeemed thee from the house of bondage, and I sent before thee Moses, Aaron and Miriam". This passage does not indeed state in what capacity Aaron acted as leader, but there is nothing to imply that he is thought of as a priest.

How then are we to interpret the traditions with reference to the priesthood? Is it possible on the one hand to give due weight to the statements of the earlier documents, and at the same time to account for that conception of the priesthood which we find in the Priestly Code without having recourse to the theory of purely arbitrary invention? I think it is possible, and, further, that in the light of hints scattered over the Old Testament, we can construct the history of the Israelite priesthood with a probability that approaches very close to certainty.

In the first place it is certain that not until the eighteenth year of Josiah (621 B.C.)—at all events not before the reformation attempted by Hezekiah (prob. c. 700 B.C.)—was the idea of a single central sanctuary for either Judah or Israel ever mooted. Here the evidence both of the historical books and of the pre-exilic prophets is conclusive. Not only during the period of the judges, but also under the kings, we find altars built and high places frequented without the slightest hint that there is anything heterodox in such a proceeding. Amos and Hosea condemn the worship of the northern Israelite sanctuaries, but there is no indication that they regard the worship as wrong on the ground that the place where it is offered is wrong. Moreover,

Isaiah reprobates the worship at Jerusalem exactly as Amos denounces that at Bethel; and the Temple at Jerusalem down to the eighteenth year of Josiah was certainly not more free from heathenish practices than was Bethel.

We have seen that in JE and D there is no hint of any distinction of order in the ranks of the priesthood. In the so-called "Blessing of Moses" (Deut. xxxiii. 8–11) Levi *as a whole* is regarded as possessing priestly privileges. There is nothing to imply that there are, or can be, Levites who are not priests.

It will be well therefore to inquire how this distinction between priests and Levites first arose. Since few people desire to date Deuteronomy *earlier* than the eighteenth year of Josiah, it will be well to take this date as our starting point, and to consider what we can learn from the book of Kings as to the priesthood at this time. In 2 Kings xxiii. 4, which with the following verse bears signs of being, if not entirely an insertion, at least greatly modified by a later hand, we read of "Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the second order" (הכהן הגדול ואת־כהני המשנה) and a similar description of Hilkiah is found in xxii. 4, 8. But elsewhere (xxii. 10, 12, 14, xxiii. 24) he is simply termed "the priest", and there can be little doubt that the simpler designation is the more primitive. One priest, however, may very probably have been regarded as head or "dean", even though he belonged to the same order of priesthood. There is no hint of Levites as an order lower than that of the priests. Josiah apparently left the priests who had hitherto ministered at Jerusalem undisturbed in their office, but he was confronted with the problem of providing for the priests of the high places which he was closing. In 2 Kings xxiii. 8, 9 it is stated that "he brought all the priests out of the cities of Judah, and defiled the high places where the priests had burned sacrifice, from Geba to Beersheba. . . . Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of

Jehovah in Jerusalem, but they did eat unleavened bread among their brethren"; that is to say, they were brought to Jerusalem where they received a share of some of the priestly perquisites, but were not allowed to discharge any actual sacerdotal functions. This is at variance with the law of Deut. xviii. 6–8, which is framed apparently to deal with similar contingencies: "If a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel, where he sojourneth, and come with all the desire of his soul unto the place which Jehovah shall choose; then he shall minister in the name of Jehovah his God, as all his brethren the Levites do, which stand there before Jehovah. They shall have like portions to eat, etc."

We need not now stop to inquire whether Josiah deliberately set aside, or allowed to be set aside, the provisions of a *book* which he had determined to enforce. The reason why the priests of the high places were not allowed to rank equally with the Zadokite priests at Jerusalem is clearly stated by Ezek. xliv. 6–16. Ezekiel looks forward to a time when the Temple, having been rebuilt, will no longer be polluted by the presence of aliens uncircumcised both in heart and flesh—he is thinking primarily of the king's bodyguard of foreign mercenaries, and perhaps also of slaves belonging to the priests whom they employed for the more menial work of the Temple. Such work is henceforth to be done by those priests who formerly ministered at the high places and by their descendants. Ezekiel only remembered the reformed Temple, and he conveniently forgot that the local high places had been destroyed without being given a chance of reforming themselves. It was altogether unjust to blame the priests of the high places for having gone far from Jehovah when Israel went astray, and at the same time to exonerate the sons of Zadok who had tolerated at Jerusalem superstitions and abuses at least as bad as anything which had gone on at the high places.

But though we must admit the injustice of Ezekiel's prejudice, many will have a fellow-feeling with him. In these days what would be the emotions of a dean and chapter who were told that all the parish churches of a diocese were to be closed, and that the parochial clergy were to share with them in all the rights, privileges and appurtenances of their office? It is probable that if such a contingency could arise, we should scarcely see clerical disinterestedness at its best.

It is evident that Ezekiel desired to make permanent a compromise arrived at in 621 and to visit the iniquity of the priests of the high places on their descendants to all generations. We should therefore have expected that subsequent students of priestly traditions in Babylonia would have followed his classification and would have divided the clergy into sons of Zadok and Levites. But the Priestly Code, which preserves the distinction in order, calls the priests not "sons of Zadok" but "sons of Aaron".

It was indeed impossible to carry the guild of Zadok back to the age of Moses, for everyone knew that Zadok had been priest at Jerusalem in the days of Solomon. Why then did the Priestly Code call the priests "sons of Aaron" and not rather "sons of Moses"?

This brings us to the question, Who was Aaron? We have seen that in the original draft of J and E there is no indication that Aaron was thought of as a priest, and that the representation of him as a sort of understudy of Moses was due to the redactor who combined J and E into JE. Evidently therefore at the time when these documents were combined Aaron was beginning to be thought of as holding a position analogous to that of Moses. It is hardly necessary to state that what a Hebrew believed to be true of a nation or guild he would naturally represent as a characteristic of its eponymous ancestor or founder.

If then we examine those traditions of Aaron which

belong to the earliest stratum of the Pentateuch, one episode stands out most prominently; I mean the making of the golden calf. No one would have been likely to invent such a story; and we must accept it, whether it is true or false, as belonging at all events to an old, if not the oldest, tradition of Aaron. It must be remembered that idol images, professedly of Jehovah, were common in Palestine till at any rate the last quarter of the eighth century B.C., and probably much later; accordingly when the story of the making of the golden calf was first told, it redounded to Aaron's credit.

If then Aaron may be regarded as the reputed founder of a cult connected with a golden calf, we naturally ask what evidence we have of such a cult apart from the Pentateuch. The author of 1 Kings xii. 26–33, who writes from the standpoint of the law of the one sanctuary, and therefore must be *at least* as late as 621, states that Jeroboam made *two* golden calves and placed one in Dan and one in Bethel. This statement may very well be a mere inference from the fact that after the disruption of the kingdom Dan was the northernmost sanctuary (of any importance) of the kingdom of Israel and Bethel the southernmost. It is conceivable that at more than one sanctuary the idol was in the form of a calf, and at rich sanctuaries idols may very well have been plated with gold. The prophet Hosea, however, refers to only one calf, viz. that of Bethel (Hosea viii. 5 f.). The plural "calves" (x. 5) is clearly a scribe's blunder for the singular as the context shews.

There is no doubt that the idol at Bethel was in the form of a calf or young bull. Whether it was *originally* of gold, or whether Jeroboam replaced an inferior idol with a more costly one at the time when he elevated Bethel to the status of a royal sanctuary (Amos vii. 13), cannot be determined. We may be certain, however, that he merely continued and developed the cult already

established. It would have been a blunder of the first magnitude to alienate the southern portion of the kingdom of Israel by foisting on the people a new-fangled worship; and accordingly the calf-worship at Bethel must have been established centuries before the time of Jeroboam, and probably was in existence among the Canaanite inhabitants of Bethel, while the Israelites were in bondage in Egypt.

But, such being the case, it may be asked, how could the worship at Bethel have been connected with the name of Aaron? According to P (Num. xxxiii. 38) Aaron died and was succeeded by Eleazar just before the eastward movement of the Israelites towards Moab. According to Deut. x. 6 Aaron died at Moserah and was succeeded by Eleazar. The fragment of the itinerary here given may be due to E, but since E knows nothing elsewhere of Eleazar, it is evident that the statement that Aaron was succeeded by Eleazar is a much later insertion. The conclusion of JE has not come down to us, having been omitted in favour of P. It is not improbable that in the original draft of E Aaron's death was not related at all, and that he was supposed to have survived Moses and to have taken part in the invasion of western Palestine. And if exception be taken to such a supposition on the ground that it assumes an altogether arbitrary dealing with ancient tradition in later times, it may be pointed out that the Old Testament contains other instances of equally arbitrary shaping of old records. Thus if Israel was buried in *eastern Palestine*, which is the obvious implication of Gen. l. 10,11, he cannot have been buried in the cave of Machpelah, as is stated in *v.* 13. The so-called "historical books" of the Old Testament have been subjected to a long process of harmonising which has nevertheless not been sufficiently thorough to remove inconsistencies. One may doubt whether the author of Num. xiv. 24 (cf. xiii. 30) had ever heard of

Joshua; for he represents Caleb alone as exempted from the sentence of exclusion from the land of Canaan. Various sanctuaries doubtless had their own traditions, and when these were collected the compiler or compilers dealt arbitrarily with traditions which did not accommodate themselves to the general scheme.

It is even possible, in spite of Micah vi. 4, that Ephraimite traditions did not originally assign Aaron to any definite period, and that the supposition that he was the contemporary of Moses arose from the rivalry between Bethel and Jerusalem. The Jerusalem idol, the brazen serpent, which, probably quite unjustly, the Jerusalem priests fathered upon Moses, would make the Bethelite priests anxious to claim a like antiquity for their idol, and in this way may have arisen the theory that Aaron the Levite was the brother of Moses. The story in Num. xxi. 5–9 is clearly ætiological, having taken shape after the suppression of images. The true character of the brazen serpent appears in 2 Kings xviii. 4. That Moses had nothing to do with it is probable from Micah vi. A prophet who spoke when the memory of the brazen serpent cult was quite fresh, would scarcely have spoken in praise of its founder.

But if Aaron had come to be associated, rightly or wrongly, with the calf cult at Bethel, we have a clue to what is otherwise inexplicable. Hosea (x. 5) in referring to the priests of the calf at Bethel calls them not *kôhănîm* but *kĕmārîm*, a word which is found again in 2 Kings xxiii. 5; but since he used the former word in iv. 9, v. 1 and vi. 9, he evidently does not mean priests of a different order. It is probable that the corporation of priests at Bethel would call themselves "sons of Aaron". Such a term would not originally imply physical descent, and there is abundant evidence that in early times the priesthood was open to everyone. Thus (Judges xvii. 5) Micah consecrates one of his sons priest for his sanctuary, but is glad a little later to secure the services of one who

has had a proper apprenticeship. David's sons are said to have been priests in 2 Sam. viii. 18 but the reading here is open to grave suspicion.

There is no reason to doubt the statement of 1 Kings xii. 31 that Jeroboam made priests from among any of the people, *for this would be the normal practice*: the words "which were not of the sons of Levi" merely reflect the prejudice of the later writer who, with supreme contempt for historical fact, insisted on Levitical succession. It must be borne in mind that originally one function of the priesthood which was peculiarly sacerdotal was the obtaining of an oracle by means of the sacred lot; and this not only required special training but also, since a decision so obtained on one occasion would serve as a precedent for another, tended to make the priests repositories of a body of traditional *tôrā*.

We do not know how many Israelite sanctuaries possessed organised priesthoods. While these sanctuaries flourished, their priesthoods were probably quite distinct. Later historians, however, who idealised the past and took for granted that there had always been one legitimate priesthood, worked up genealogies in a manner not altogether unknown among those who desire to establish descent from someone who "came over with William the Conqueror". Thus in 1 Sam. xiv. 3 Ahijah the son of Ahitub, has his genealogy tacked on to the house of Eli in a quite unnatural manner. The English rendering obscures the awkwardness. The passage runs really as follows: "Ahijah the son of Ahitub, the brother of Ichabod, the son of Phinehas, etc." There is no point in the mention of Ichabod, if Ahitub was the son of Phinehas. Yet on this shaky foundation, modern Old Testament scholars have constructed the theory that the priests at Nob were refugees from Shiloh. In 1 Sam. xxi we hear of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub (cf. xxii. 9) among the priests of Nob. A son of this Ahimelech, Abiathar, subsequently figures among

David's followers, and it must be remembered that he was originally one of the priests of Nob, and that his genealogy goes back no further than Ahitub. This Abiathar is associated with another priest named Zadok in 2 Sam. xv. 27, 29, 35, 36 (*v.* 24 is clearly late and unhistorical), xx. 25; 1 Kings i. 25 f., iv. 4. According to 2 Sam. viii. 17, indeed, Zadok was a son of Ahitub in which case he would have been the brother of Ahimelech and uncle of Abiathar, but elsewhere, except in the artificial statement of Chronicles, he is ἀπάτωρ ἀγενεαλόγητος.

But even if (according to the statement of 2 Sam. viii. 17) Zadok really was a son of Ahitub, at best his priestly lineage would be carried back only to the little sanctuary of Nob. Probably he was first thought of as the "brother", i.e. colleague, of Abiathar, and then, at a time when the priestly office had become hereditary, it was natural to suppose that he was descended from Ahitub.

The late writer of 1 Kings ii. 26 represents Solomon as banishing Abiathar to Anathoth. But if there were any priests at Anathoth in Solomon's time, they would have been quite distinct from the priests of Nob. Anathoth is perhaps a mere inference here based upon Josh. xxi. 18.

Thus in the eighth century B.C. we may suppose that the priests at Jerusalem traced their spiritual descent from the *parvenu* Zadok, but that the priests at Bethel went more than one better and claimed descent from Aaron. Bethel as a sanctuary of Jehovah could claim far greater antiquity than Jerusalem; for no one could pretend that Jehovah had been worshipped at Jerusalem before the time of David, whereas Bethel claimed to have been founded by Jacob-Israel the eponymous ancestor of the nation.

Of the priesthoods at the other sanctuaries we have no information. We do not know for example what the

priests called themselves at Hebron, Beersheba, Shechem or Gilgal. Bethel and Jerusalem, however, were alike royal sanctuaries; and there would be the same difference between the status of their priests and that of priests of less important sanctuaries that exists to-day between the status of a canon of Westminster or of St Paul's and the incumbent of a poor country parish. I have said that if Aaron was associated, rightly or wrongly, with the calf cult at Bethel, we have a clue to what is otherwise inexplicable. There is general agreement among students of the Pentateuch that the *provenance* of J is Judah, and that of E is central Palestine. It is also indisputable that J and E had been combined into JE before D was written, and that D, while dependent upon JE, is based more particularly on E than on J, and, further, is addressed to *all Israel*. In view of the jealousy which existed between the kingdom of Judah and northern Israel, the problem of the combination of a Judæan document with an Israelite document is one which cannot be left on one side, nor can it be said to baffle solution. Obviously the combination of the two documents and the subsequent drawing up of another document intended to supersede them both—for there cannot be a question that those to whom we owe the book of Deuteronomy intended to substitute it for JE—must have taken place when central Samaria and Judah had come to some sort of agreement with regard to worship. Now such an agreement cannot have been reached during the eighth century B.C. The golden calf of Bethel only disappeared about the year 721 B.C. and the brazen serpent was broken up probably after 701. We may be sure that those who thought that a calf was the proper symbol of Jehovah would have rejected a sanctuary where the symbol was a brazen serpent; and the feeling between them would be as strong as that which exists to-day between staunch upholders of so-called "Catholic" ritual and those to whom even the symbol of the cross

is a Popish abomination. Under such circumstances it would only be after the rise of a generation which had ceased to regret the disappearance of the idols, that *rapprochement* would be possible.

But there are political considerations which must be taken into account. At the fall of the northern kingdom Samaria became a mere province in the Assyrian Empire governed by an Assyrian official, while for 135 years longer Judah continued to be governed by a native king.

There is an idea (based upon the statement of 2 Kings xxiii that Josiah desecrated Bethel) that part of the province of Samaria came under the jurisdiction of the King of Judah. But these verses of 2 Kings xxiii which describe the desecration of Bethel can be shewn to be a late interpretation and unhistorical, since they are at variance with the passage in which they are inserted; and thus all positive evidence for such a supposition disappears. On the other hand, there is the strongest evidence against it, for in 701 Sennacherib greatly reduced the kingdom of Judah, annexing forty-six strong cities to neighbouring states.

Further, 2 Kings xvii tells us that a King of Assyria, probably Esarhaddon about 670 B.C., allowed one of the Bethelite priests to return thither; and it is extremely unlikely that Josiah would have been allowed by his suzerain not only to interfere in the government of a province which lay outside his kingdom but to destroy a sanctuary which had been restored by the express permission of the King of Assyria.

It is extremely probable that the compilation of the Elohistic document was made some time after 670 for the benefit of the heterogeneous population of Samaria who had then been brought to accept the religion of Jehovah, and that the Jahvistic document, to which Jeremiah probably referred (viii. 8) when he said that a lying pen of scribes had dealt falsely, was drawn up in Judah by the non-reforming party, who resented the

closing of the high places and desired to preserve their traditions in the hope that a king might arise who would undo the work which Josiah had done. The Jahvistic document reflects not the ideas of the sons of Zadok in the reformed Temple (whose position was greatly improved by the reform), but rather the religion of the *popular* prophets who had been connected with the high places.

From 621 to 586 B.C., then, the position in Palestine was probably as follows. At Bethel there was an ancient priesthood which professed to have been founded by Aaron, and probably similar priesthoods, though independent of Bethel, at Shechem and some of the other greater sanctuaries; for what Esarhaddon allowed at Bethel he would doubtless allow at some other places as well. At such sanctuaries the priests or Levites—for the terms seem to have been synonymous—were all on the same footing, and there was no difference of order.

In Judah, on the other hand, there was a priesthood at Jerusalem of which Zadok in the time of Solomon was regarded as the founder, and on an inferior footing —not allowed to take part in priestly duties, but permitted to do menial work which had hitherto been done by laymen—were the unhappy priests or Levites of the country sanctuaries who were driven to accept their degradation from the priesthood because no other livelihood was open to them.

This division between the Zadokite priests who remained in possession and the country priests or Levites who, though put on an inferior footing, were yet able to some extent to claim benefit of clergy, lasted in Jerusalem from 621 to 586 B.C.—long enough, that is to say, to become thoroughly established. No doubt the country Levites protested, but Ezekiel's words shew that their protests had been quite ineffectual.

After 586 Judah, which had now ceased to be a kingdom, and like Samaria had become an Assyrian

province, was in a far worse plight than Samaria; for its clergy, the Zadokite priests with the Levites, had been carried off to Babylonia; and though it had a place of sacrifice, it had no priests to perform those sacerdotal functions which for thirty-five years had been exclusively reserved to the sons of Zadok, assisted by the dispossessed country Levites.

In view of the fact that a late statement (Ezra iv. 1 ff.) represents the Samaritans as desiring to take part in the rebuilding of the Temple, and that in any case before the time of Nehemiah the Samaritans must have recognised Jerusalem as the one legitimate place of sacrifice—since there could have been no Samaritan schism if there had not previously been union—and bearing in mind that a Samaritan document E is combined with a Judæan document J, it seems scarcely possible to reconstruct the history on any other supposition than that those who remained behind in Judah after 586 made an agreement with the inhabitants of Bethel and its neighbourhood, by which Bethel was closed and its priests, Aaronites, migrated to Jerusalem, Jerusalem thus becoming the place of sacrifice, not only for Judah, but for southern Samaria also. Before long the other Samaritan sanctuaries came into line, and in order to provide for the greater area, and also to bring about reforms in various directions, the book of Deuteronomy was drawn up.

Thus, if this reconstruction of history be accepted, in 520, when according to the best evidence Zerubbabel was appointed governor of Judah, the condition of things in Judaism with reference to the priesthood was as follows: in Palestine at Jerusalem there was an Aaronite priesthood with which various other priesthoods were incorporated, and in which there was no distinction of order, though one priest Joshua was regarded as head or dean; and among the exiles in Babylon a Zadokite priesthood with inferior clergy styled Levites.

It is moreover probable that, included in the suite of Zerubbabel, there were a certain number of these Zadokite priests, and that when they arrived at Jerusalem, and found Aaronites installed in what they regarded as *their* sanctuary, the situation created was not unlike that which existed in England after 1660.

We have some evidence of such a situation in the allegory with which the prophet Zechariah deals with the ecclesiastical politics of his time (chap. iii). Translating the allegorical terms of the Hebrews into plain prosaic English, we find that the situation which the prophet describes is as follows: Shortly after the appointment of Zerubbabel—the time is in itself suggestive—an attempt had been made to prevent Joshua the son of Jehozadak, probably an Aaronite, from exercising priestly functions. The prophet Zechariah takes up the defence of Joshua, maintaining that it is unfair to expect too much of him, for he is, so to speak, a brand plucked out of the fire: that is, the existence of a priesthood at all in Jerusalem is more than might have been hoped for, and the existence of a priesthood is an earnest of the restoration of the monarchy. If Joshua governs well, he is to be left undisturbed in his office. In regard to the priesthood it is evident that the prophet Zechariah, who wishes Zerubbabel well, and entertains high hopes for his future, feels constrained to oppose his policy or at least that of his Babylonian following, just as he had previously been constrained to oppose the scheme for fortifying Jerusalem. If therefore there were any Zadokite priests among those who accompanied Zerubbabel—and we may be pretty certain that there were—they would be compelled to abandon any hopes they might have entertained of ousting the Aaronites, and would be obliged to enrol themselves among the guild of Aaron. Accordingly when the news was carried to those Zadokite priests who still remained in Babylonia that Zerubbabel, whom

they regarded as heir to David's throne and head of the Jewish people, had recognised the Aaronite priesthood, they would feel constrained to do what their brethren who had recently arrived in Jerusalem had done, and would enrol themselves among the Aaronites.

But it may be asked, What right have we to regard Joshua the son of Jehozadak as an Aaronite at all, seeing that in the high-priestly genealogy given in 1 Chron. vi. 3–15 Jehozadak's father is said to have been Seraiah the son of Azariah the son of Hilkiah who was priest in the eighteenth year of Josiah, and Jehozadak is said to have left Jerusalem at the time of the Captivity?

If this genealogy is authentic and rests on ancient authority, it certainly cannot lightly be set aside; but does it? In the first place we notice the remarkable statement that, whereas between Zadok who was priest at the beginning of Solomon's reign and Azariah who acted as priest in the Temple which Solomon built, there were three intermediate generations, Azariah being Zadok's great-great-grandson, between the same Azariah and Hilkiah who was priest at the time of Josiah's reformation in 621—at least 300 years after the death of Solomon—there were only four generations, Hilkiah being Azariah's great-great-great-grandson. Even if the words "he it is that executed the priest's office in the house that Solomon built in Jerusalem" be supposed to be wrongly tacked on to Azariah the son of Johanan instead of to his grandfather Azariah the son of Ahimaaz, the difficulty though lessened is not entirely removed, for we still have only eight generations to cover a period of considerably more than 300 years. We have seen how artificial is the genealogy of Abiathar in 1 Sam. xiv. 3, where a late author has simply assumed a direct priestly lineage and has combined two entirely different priesthoods. Similarly the Chronicler, *assuming* that the high priesthood has come down in an unbroken line, has concocted a genealogy from the books of Kings and

Jeremiah. Thus the statement that Hilkiah was priest in the reign of Josiah is found in 2 Kings xxiii. That Seraiah was priest at the time of the second transportation of Jews in 586 is stated in 2 Kings xxv. 18 and Jer. lii. 24. Seraiah is said to have been put to death at Riblah in the land of Hamath, and therefore was not among the Babylonian captives. The statement that Joshua the contemporary of the prophet Zechariah was the son of Jehozadak appears in Haggai i. 1, 12, etc. It must be remembered that the Chronicler ignores the fact that the great majority of the people of Judah remained in Judah,[1] and supposes that all the Jews were descendants of those who had been carried captive to Babylon. He assumed therefore that Joshua had returned from captivity—as though there had been no worship at Jerusalem before Zerubbabel appeared—and concluded that Joshua's father Jehozadak had been carried into captivity. From the days of Zerubbabel to the time of Nehemiah we have no direct evidence as to the worship at Jerusalem, but the anonymous prophet, whom we know as Malachi and who appears to have lived about the middle or shortly after the middle of the fifth century B.C., appears to have been acquainted with Deuteronomy but not with the Priestly Code; we may therefore suppose that until his days the law recognised at Jerusalem was that of Deuteronomy, which knew no distinction between priests and Levites, the priesthood being considered to consist of sons of Aaron.

Then came the return under Ezra, probably somewhat antedated by the Chronicler, and belonging in reality to the period between Nehemiah's first and second visits. We can understand how it was that Artaxerxes gave permission for this return if it was Nehemiah who persuaded him, but otherwise the action

[1] According to Jer. lii. 28–30, which represents an older source than 2 Kings xxiv–xxv, the total number of Jews carried into captivity was only 4600.

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of Artaxerxes is unintelligible. The original book of Ezra incorporated in the work of the Chronicler is a late composition—Ezra is not mentioned among the famous men in Ecclesiasticus—and appears to be written in imitation of the book of Nehemiah; but there is no valid reason for denying that a number of Jews at this time did return from the east to Jerusalem, only it is obvious that those who returned were a picked body chosen with the express idea of upholding the priestly law as it was understood among the Jews of the Captivity. It is stated (Ezra viii. 15)—and the statement probably rests on a sound tradition, for it is not easy to see why it should have been invented—that among those who returned, there were at first no Levites, that is to say ministers of an inferior order, and that a certain number of these had to be collected. We have seen that hitherto there had been no distinction in the ranks of the clergy at Jerusalem, but after the arrival of Ezra's priests and Levites, at all events when Nehemiah came back to enforce the Priestly Law which had taken shape in Babylonia, the Temple was placed under a new *régime*. It was no longer possible for laymen to perform some of the offices which had hitherto been open to them—such, for example, as the slaying of the sacrificial victims—with the result that there came about a far wider separation of priests and laity than had ever been the case before, and Judaism developed into a rigid sacerdotalism.

Moreover, political considerations had much to do with the development of the priestly idea. In JE and D, there is no hint of a high priest, and it is contemplated that the government will be in the hands of an Israelite king. In the Priestly Code, however, there is no hint of the possibility of a king, but we find instead a high priest who is head of the nation. Although it is probable that during the monarchy one priest was regarded as head of the priests at Jerusalem, he was only

primus inter pares, and Zechariah implies that this is the position of Joshua with reference to his colleagues who *sit* before him, and are therefore not regarded as an inferior order.

To what then is the pre-eminence of the high priests as we see it in the Priestly Code to be assigned? In all probability the reason is not religious, but political. After the disastrous attempt made by Zerubbabel to fortify Jerusalem, which the prophet Zechariah had earnestly deprecated, the relations between the Jews and the Persian Government had gone from bad to worse, until, probably shortly before the middle of the fifth century B.C., a determined attempt was made to fortify Jerusalem, an attempt which produced furious protests from the Samaritans and other provincial governors, who obtained permission from Artaxerxes to attack Jerusalem and to break down the newly built wall.

Nehemiah was able to satisfy Artaxerxes that the Jews had no intention of rebelling against the Persian Government; but he, Nehemiah, saw clearly that any suggestion of a Jewish king would at once arouse the suspicions of the Persian monarch. He aimed therefore at providing the Jews with an official of their own race, whom they might consider their real head under the Persian Government; that is to say, an official whose position under the Persian Government would be very similar to that of the Patriarch of Antioch, under the old Turkish *régime*, who held the position of a viceroy.

In the Priestly Code the high priest, though no secular authority is claimed for him, is so far the head of Judaism that there is room for no Jewish king beside him. As Wellhausen says (*Hist. of Israel*, Eng. tr. p. 150):

He alone is the responsible representative of the collective nation. The names of the twelve tribes are written on his breast and shoulders; his transgression involves the whole people in guilt,

and is atoned for as that of the whole people, while the princes, when their sin-offerings are compared with his, appear as mere private persons (Lev. iv. 3, 13, 22, ix. 7, xvi. 6). His death makes an epoch; it is when the high priest—not the king—dies that the fugitive slayer obtains his amnesty (Num. xxxv. 28). At his investiture he receives the chrism like a king, and is called accordingly the anointed priest; he is adorned with the diadem and tiara (Ezek. xxi. 31, A.V. 26) like a king, and like a king too he wears the purple, that most unpriestly of all raiment, of which he therefore must divest himself when he goes into the holy of holies (Lev. xvi. 4).

In connexion with the high priest's dress, it may be well here briefly to consider what evidence we have of priestly dress in the Old Testament at various times. For the early days of the monarchy—probably till very much later—the evidence is clear. The priests wore one garment—the linen ephod, apparently a short tunic, or possibly a kilt, not reaching to the knees, tied in at the waist (see 1 Sam. ii. 18—and note that Samuel is here regarded as a priest—and 1 Sam. xxii. 18). This was the dress which was worn by David when he acted the part of the priest-king on the occasion of the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam. vi. 14). The exiguous dimensions of the ephod are sufficiently evident from the injunction of Ex. xx. 26.

Neither JE nor D is concerned with priestly millinery, but in Ezekiel the dress of the priests is prescribed (Ezek. xliv. 17–19). Only linen must be worn in the sanctuary, wool being forbidden. Here no mention is made of the ephod, the priests wearing instead linen breeches—according to Josephus apparently not longer than the shortest of rowing shorts—though somewhat fuller, and having their heads covered with a linen cap or *bandeau*. This dress was only to be worn in the sanctuary, and was to be changed before the priests went outside, lest they should infect the people with the holiness of their garments.

The Priestly Code confirms Ezekiel's injunction concerning the dress of the priests, but gives the priests in addition a linen tunic, a close-fitting garment with sleeves, reaching to the feet, with a narrow opening at the neck and girt about the breast by a long sash, according to Josephus "four fingers broad, wound twice about the body, beginning at the breast and tied in front in a bow; the ends reached the ankles, but while the priest was officiating they were thrown over the left shoulder so as not to be in his way" (Driver on Ex. xxviii. 40).

In addition to the dress of the ordinary priests, the high priest according to P wore over the tunic a violet robe with sleeves, with a hole for the head to go through, and bordered at the bottom with golden bells and pomegranates, and above this an embroidered ephod, probably of much the same form as the old linen ephod, but suspended by shoulder straps. Over this was worn the breastplate. On his head the high priest wore a turban made of a strip of fine linen, according to the Talmud about twenty-four feet long. Bound round the turban, presumably above its lower edge, was a purple band bearing a gold plate with the inscription "Holy to Jehovah".

To sum up then, we may conclude that the traditional view of a sacrosanct ministry of three orders, high priest, priests and Levites to whose own initiative nothing is left, everything being prescribed for them by divine authority is absolutely devoid of any historical foundation whatsoever. The Jewish priests, the sons of Aaron, could no more claim to be descended from Aaron than the whole of the Jewish nation can claim to be descended from Abraham, but they were the descendants of priests representing many tribes. The distinction between priests and Levites was the result of the unjust jealousy which the Zadokite priests of Jerusalem shewed towards their country brethren. The fiction of an Aaronite origin

was adopted by the Zadokites simply because they could not get rid of Aaronites as they would have liked to do, and the office of high priest arose because of the Jews' political helplessness.

The history of the high priests is not a glorious one. It is probable that the Priestly Code did not become operative in Judah before 433 B.C., and before the close of the fifth century a high priest, John, had murdered his brother in the temple. Now and then a man arose who endeavoured to do his best for the religious life of his people; such was Simon the son of Oniah whose praise is sung by Jesus the son of Sirach, and Oniah who in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes was murdered at Antioch. Otherwise what we know of the holders of the office is almost altogether bad. The Hasmonæan high priests, Jonathan, Simon, John Hyrcanus, Alexander Jannæus, were steeped in ambition, deceit, cruelty and sensuality; and when we come down later, we have Annas and Caiaphas. Is it not a significant fact that our Saviour came into the world not as Levite, priest, or high priest, but as an ordinary layman, and that ignoring all the ghastly ceremonies connected with the blood of bulls and goats, burnt fat and burnt flesh, He says, "Come unto Me, and I will give you rest".

iv

THE ALTAR FIRE

HISTORY, as a modern historian understands the word, is scarcely to be found between the covers of the Old Testament. This does not mean that everything there related is unhistorical, or that it is impossible to compile any history of Israel from the Old Testament—indeed there is a good deal of material available for such a purpose, which has been ignored in the past, through failure to appreciate its significance. Nevertheless, the object of the Old Testament writers was not to construct a history of the past, but rather to shape and arrange legends and traditions so as to make them parables expressive of the lessons, religious or political, which it was desired to inculcate. How freely traditions and even written documents were treated is manifest at once upon a comparison of the books of Chronicles with Samuel and Kings. No doubt the Chronicler—and others whose teaching he accepted—used a certain amount of criticism in dealing with his materials; this criticism, however, was entirely subjective. Since the Chronicler regarded the Temple as the very focus of the religion of Israel, he had no hesitation in virtually canonising its builder Solomon: and since he could not imagine that any pious king would fail to make the Temple his first care, he disregarded alike the words put into the mouth of Nathan (2 Sam. vii) and the account of David's senility in 1 Kings i, and ascribed to David the whole preparation for its building. The Chronicler's ingenuity in twisting words to suit his purpose will further be manifest on a comparison of 1 Kings v. 3 with 1 Chron. xxii. 8.

But though the books of Chronicles furnish the most

striking examples of a subjective way of treating history, the Chronicler in this respect does not by any means stand alone. The explanation of the way in which Jerubbaal got his name (Judges vi.) was certainly not derived by its author from any *ancient* tradition; and the remarkable idealisation of the history of the conquest of Canaan in the book of Joshua, from a desire to insist upon the unity of Israel, becomes evident on a critical study of Judges i.

We may reasonably date those portions of the book of Joshua which are commonly labelled J and E in the sixth century B.C., when, as we know, there was some sort of *rapprochement* between the provinces of Judah and Samaria, and when the Temple at Jerusalem was accepted by both provinces as the national sanctuary. The Chronicler therefore had ancient precedent for his method of dealing with historical documents: it was, indeed, a method characteristic of almost all those Hebrew writers who had attempted to make any sort of collection of the traditions of the past.

That motives similar to those which influenced the authors of the book of Joshua have to a great extent determined the form of the Pentateuch as we now have it is made clear, if the latter be compared with the prophets. According to Hosea ii. 15, Jer. ii. 2 (cf. Micah vi), at the time of the Exodus and the sojourn in the wilderness Israel was whole-heartedly faithful to Jehovah; but no one would get such an impression from the books of Exodus and Numbers. The narratives in these books have evidently taken their present shape at a time when there was great danger of apostasy from the religion of Jehovah. Those who had recently been brought to accept Jehovah as God of the land (2 Kings xvii) were hankering after their ancestral gods, and in time of drought were asking whether Jehovah really was among them or not. Hence the more truly Israelite writers, who told for the benefit of the newcomers the

story of Israel's journeying from the land of Egypt, were careful so to tell it as to make it a warning against any apostasy from, or murmuring against, Jehovah.

To sum up therefore, the first question to be asked by the student of any narrative contained in the so-called historical books of the Old Testament is, What purpose was this story intended to serve? The answer to this question will always throw a very valuable sidelight on the history of Israel.

In Lev. x. 1–7 it is related that "Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took each of them his censer, and put fire therein, and offered strange fire before the Lord which he had not commanded them. And there came forth fire from before the Lord, and devoured them, and they died before the Lord". It is improbable that this story belongs to the first draft of the Priestly Code; for had this been the case, we should have expected some previous injunction with reference to the fire to be used in the censers. No such injunction however is found: nor, strange to say, are any directions given as to the method of lighting the altar fire, though it is insisted (Lev. vi. 9–13) that it must not be allowed to go out. It is stated indeed (Lev. ix. 24) that "there came forth fire from before the Lord, and consumed upon the altar the burnt offering and the fat". This statement, however, appears to be a later addition. We should have expected to find it in the account of the first setting up of the altar (Ex. xl. 29): but there only the burnt offering and the meal offering are specified, and there is no mention of the "peace offerings" which, in Lev. ix. 24, are implied by the mention of the fat. Moreover, in the account of the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Lev. viii) we hear of the burning upon the altar of the fat, etc., of the sin offering (*v.* 16) as well as of the burnt offering (*v.* 20); and a similar ritual is described on the eighth day following. It is only when the consecration is complete, and the incidental sacrifices

have been offered, that we are told that "there came forth fire from before the Lord, and consumed upon the altar the burnt offering and the fat".

Further, the legislation previously given makes no mention of censers for the burning of sweet incense, but only of the altar of incense. In Num. iv. 14 "censers" (A.V.) are mentioned as part of the paraphernalia of the brazen altar; there is no hint that they are for the burning of spices, and the R.V. "firepans" is here probably the correct rendering. At all events, from the time of Nehemiah incense seems to have been burnt in the Temple ordinarily on the small altar provided for that purpose, and the burning of it in some sort of firepan as in Lev. x. 1, xvi. 12; Num. xvi. 6, 17, was probably a later development.[1]

In Ezek. viii. 11 indeed we hear of censers (מקטרות) but they are handled not by the priests, but by certain *elders*, and Ezekiel seems to have regarded them as heathen abominations. Reference is made to incense as well as to sweet cane in Jer. vi. 20, apparently used for the same purpose, but there is nothing to shew how it was burnt. It is not improbable that the one altar served originally both for the ordinary sacrifices, animal and cereal, and for incense, and that a special altar for the burning of incense (cf. Ex. xxx. 1–10) was a later elaboration. Certainly the altar of incense bore a general resemblance to the greater altar, and the prohibition of the offering on it of anything but incense (*l.c. v.* 9) suggests that in the popular mind an altar which served for one purpose might serve for another.

It has been pointed out above that the account of the miraculous kindling of fire upon the altar of burnt sacrifice (Lev. ix. 24) occurs at the conclusion of the

[1] The view here taken is that these three passages represent additions to P after its publication in Palestine. There was probably more than one revision, and secondary passages need not have been added all at one time.

consecration of the priests *after burnt sacrifices have already been offered*, and it is therefore probable that it does not belong to the first draft of P.[1] In view of the fact that the tabernacle with its furniture is represented as a *portable* sanctuary and that it would be impossible to keep the altar fire burning during removal, it is remarkable that no directions are given as to the kindling of it. Indeed in the whole of the canonical Old Testament there is no hint as to the method by which an ordinary fire was kindled. We read neither of firesticks nor of flints. Since however a lamp of fire was always kept burning in an inhabited house (cf. 2 Sam. xxi. 17; 1 Kings xi. 36, xv. 4; Job xviii. 5 f., xxi. 17; Prov. xiii. 9, xx. 20) it may be inferred that the kindling of a fire *de novo* was always avoided.[2] It is noteworthy that Abraham when he is to sacrifice at a distance of three days' journey from his home, takes the fire with him (Gen. xxii. 6), and the writer probably meant it to be inferred that the fire was taken from an existing altar.[3]

But although we have no account of the method of kindling an altar fire at Jerusalem—perhaps in the earlier pre-exilic period it was not allowed to go out—we have more than one account of a fire miraculously kindled, viz. Judges vi. 21, xiii. 19 f. *apparently*, 1 Kings xviii, 1 Chron. xxi. 26; 2 Chron. vii. 1.[4] It is to be noted that Gideon's sacrifice marks the inauguration of a sanctuary: and this is probably true of Manoah's also, since it is

[1] The description of "the glory of Jehovah" at the sanctuary both in this chapter and in 1 Kings viii. 10 f. is probably based upon Ezek. xliv. 4; Ezekiel, however, tells us nothing about the kindling of the altar fire. He must have known that sacrifices were still being offered at Jerusalem, and he perhaps believed that the altar fire had not been allowed to go out.

[2] Cf. Fraser, *The Golden Bough: The Magic Art*, vol. II, p. 254.

[3] Cf. *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 32 f.

[4] In these last two passages, however, the detail of the fire from heaven is not mentioned in the Chronicler's authorities, viz. 2 Sam. xxiv. 25; 1 Kings viii. 10 f.

offered upon an altar (Judges xiii. 20). Similarly Elijah's sacrifice on Carmel is the re-dedication of a desecrated and partially destroyed sanctuary.

Having regard to these three stories representing traditions of places as far removed from one another as Manasseh, the southern Dan, and the top of Carmel, it seems reasonable to suppose that there was a general belief that an altar fire should *in the first instance be divinely kindled*: and traditions of this sort are not to be lightly rejected as fables. It does not follow, however, that what an ancient Hebrew regarded as miraculous would be so regarded in modern times; for to those who have no knowledge of natural law much which is to us simple and commonplace will appear to be miraculous; and indeed a detail which to an unscientific age appeared to be a crowning marvel may to us supply the clue to the true explanation of the tradition.

The writer of 2 Maccabees has told us that his purpose in abridging the five books of Jason of Cyrene is that he may give a succinct account, among other things of "the purification of the great Temple and the dedication of the altar"; and by way of introduction to this abridgment he has given—what he apparently did not find in the work of Jason—an account of what he evidently regarded as the inauguration of a worship which had existed until the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes. This account (2 Macc. i. 19–36) is as follows:

When our fathers were about to be led into the land of Persia, the godly priests of that time took of the fire of the altar, and hid it privily in the hollow of a well that was without water, wherein they made it sure so that the place was unknown to all men. Now after many years, when it pleased God, Nehemiah, having received a charge from the King of Persia, sent in quest of the fire the descendants of the priests that hid it. When they declared to us that they had found no fire, but thick water, he commanded them to draw out thereof and bring *to him*: and when the sacrifices

had been offered *on the altar*, Nehemiah commanded the priests to sprinkle with the water both the wood and the things laid thereon. And when it was done and some time had passed, and the sun shone out, which before was hid with clouds, there was kindled a great blaze so that all men marvelled. And the priests made a prayer while the sacrifice was consuming, both the priests and all *others*, Jonathan leading and the rest answering as Nehemiah did. And the prayer was after this manner: O Lord, Lord God, the Creator of all things, who art terrible and strong and righteous and merciful, who alone art King and gracious, who alone suppliest *every need*, who alone art righteous and almighty and eternal, thou that savest Israel out of all evil, who madest the fathers *thy* chosen, and didst sanctify them: accept the sacrifice for all thy people Israel, and guard thine own portion, and consecrate it. Gather together our Dispersion, set at liberty them that are in bondage among the heathen, look upon them that are despised and abhorred, and let the heathen know that thou art our God. Torment them that oppress us and in arrogancy shamefully entreat us. Plant thy people in thy holy place, even as Moses said. And thereupon the priests sang the hymns. And as soon as the sacrifice was consumed, then Nehemiah commanded to pour *on* great stones the water that was left. And when this was done a flame was kindled; but when the light from the altar shone over against it, *all* was consumed. And when the matter became known, and it was told the King of the Persians, that in the place where the priests that were led away had hid the fire, there appeared the water, wherewith also Nehemiah and they that were with him purified the sacrifice, then the king, enclosing *the place*, made it sacred, after he had proved the matter. And when the king would shew favour to any, he would take *from them* many presents and give them some of *this* water. And Nehemiah and they that were with him called this thing Nephthar, which is by interpretation, Cleansing; but most men call it Nephthai.

It is noteworthy that in this account the place of exile is spoken of as *the land of Persia*. Since in the second century B.C. the Greek Asiatic Empire is designated not Persian but *Assyrian* as in Ezra vi. 22 (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 6, § 7) it may be inferred that the account which Jason of Cyrene followed had taken shape a

considerable time previously. This, however, is a matter of no great moment. The really important feature is the implication that *an entirely new beginning in the Temple worship was made in the days of Nehemiah, to whom is ascribed the building both of the Temple and of the altar.* It is indeed stated in Ezra vi. 15 that the rebuilding of the Temple, begun by Zerubbabel, was finished on the third of Adar in the sixth year of Darius, i.e. 515 B.C., that is to say less than four and a half years after the beginning of the work; but the previous verse, which states that it was completed "according to the decree of Cyrus and Darius and Artaxerxes King of Persia", implies that a certain amount of work was done in the reign of Artaxerxes, and this is in accordance with Ezra vii. 27.[1] There is, however, no hint in the book of Nehemiah of any building being done to the Temple—unless we find it in Neh. iv. 2, where the text is doubtful—and Neh. vi. 10 implies that the Temple is already built. It is, however, implied in Neh. x. 32 ff. that there had been considerable laxity in carrying out the ordinances of the Temple previous to the appointment of Nehemiah; and from Neh. xiii. 4–14, which states that both Levites and singers had left the Temple, it may be inferred that there had been at least great irregularity in the offering of the sacrifices. Mal. i. 10—which is probably to be dated not many years before the publication of the Priestly Code—implies that the altar fire is not kept continually burning, *but is lighted from time to time when sacrifices are to be offered.* There is accordingly no difficulty in supposing that in order to restore the Temple to the *status quo ante* a certain amount of building was necessary, and further that the

[1] It is to be noted that the building of the wall as well as the Temple is mentioned in Ezra v. 9 as begun in the reign of Darius. This is confirmed by Zech. ii. 1–5. It is possible that the completion of both works was ascribed to Nehemiah. There was evidently in later times considerable uncertainty as to what events should be assigned to the time of Zerubbabel and what to Nehemiah's age.

altar fire had been allowed to go out, and required relighting.

It is in connexion with the latter process that the account in 2 Macc. i. 29–36 is of the greatest interest, and the details are such as it is impossible to consider mere invention. Nehemiah we are told, in order to relight the altar fire, sent a number of priests who had returned from Persia (*sc.* Zadokites) to reopen a rock-hewn pit, the very existence of which had apparently been forgotten, wherein the pre-exilic altar fire was supposed to be hidden.[1] Those who opened the pit found that it contained not fire as they had expected, but a thick liquid. When everything was ready upon the altar for the burning of the sacrifice except the fire, Nehemiah ordered this thick liquid to be sprinkled on the wood and on the sacrificial offerings laid thereon. For some time the worshippers waited in suspense. At last, however, the sun, which had been obscured by clouds, shone brightly, whereupon a great blaze was kindled on the altar. The writer of the account apparently regarded the liquid not so much as the means of producing the fire, but as of purifying the sacrifice so that it became acceptable to Jehovah—the divine acceptance of it being signified by fire from heaven. It is said that the liquid or the process of pouring it on the altar was called by Nehemiah *Nephthar* meaning cleansing, but the popular name was *Nephthai*.

That the liquid was some form of naphtha is evident, and also that it was kindled into a flame by the sun's rays. Probably this was by means of a crystal by the method employed by the Incas of Peru, who kindled fire "by holding towards the sun a hollow mirror, which reflected his beams on a tinder of cotton wool" (Frazer, *The Golden Bough; The Magic Art*, vol. II. p. 243).

[1] The idea of hiding fire would appear less strange to the ancients than to the present age; cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 6 f., "quaerit pars semina flammae abstrusa in venis silicis".

The Siamese and Chinese have also been in the habit of kindling a sacred fire by means of a metal mirror or burning glass (Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 245 note).

It is obvious that among a people utterly devoid of scientific knowledge, a fire thus kindled would be regarded as fire from heaven; and we may infer that the mirror used would be a jealously guarded object the use of which would be prohibited for any fire except that of the altar: for we may reasonably conclude that if it was considered improper to apply ordinary fire to the sacred sacrifices, it would be considered equally improper to apply sacred fire to ordinary things.[1]

A hint of the date to which this story is to be assigned is given in the fact that the leading priest is Jonathan, who is said (Neh. xii. 10) to be the grandson of Eliashib.[1]

Assuming therefore that the account given in 2 Macc. i rests on a genuine tradition—2 Macc. ii. 1–12 is obviously of no historic value—it appears that under Nehemiah, Jonathan or Jehohanan being chief priest, there was some sort of rededication of the Temple, and a fresh inauguration of sacrificial worship, when it was insisted that the altar fire must not be kindled by ordinary means. If there is any truth in the story that the method of kindling the fire by means of naphtha had been forgotten—and there seems to be no reason

[1] Compare however Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. II. p. 216.

[2] The genealogy of the priests, which appears to have been compiled by the Chronicler from various sources, can scarcely be correct, at least if Josephus is right in assigning Jaddua to the time of Alexander the Great, 332 B.C. For Eliashib had apparently ceased to be high priest at the time of Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem c. 433 B.C. Further, there is a suspicious resemblance between the names of the Levites in Neh. xii. 22 and those of the priests *v.* 10. In Ezra x. 6 we read of Jehohanan the *son* of Eliashib where possibly a name has been accidentally omitted. This Jehohanan, who appears as high priest in 411 B.C. (Elephantine Papyri; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XI. 7), is apparently the same person who appears as Jonathan in Neh. xii. 11, 2 Macc. i. 23. *If* Johanan or Jonathan, who was high priest in the days of Ezra, still held that office as late as 411 B.C., we have an additional reason for rejecting the date assigned to Ezra in Ezra vii. 7.

to doubt it—we may conclude that for some time before Nehemiah's reinauguration of regular sacrificial worship, when sacrifices were to be offered, the altar fire was kindled with fire from some domestic hearth or perhaps from a lamp reserved for the purpose. It is clear from Mal. i. 10 that it was not kept continually burning.

Here then we have a motive for the story of the death of Nadab and Abihu; and possibly a hint of a piece of real history connected with the priesthood. The Old Testament affords several examples of the tendency to make an eponymous ancestor virtually the personification of those who traced their descent from him, and to tell his history accordingly. Now Nadab and Abihu appear in JE, R in connexion with seventy elders of Israel (Ex. xxiv. 1, 9). There is nothing to suggest that they are priests, for Moses alone performs the priestly functions (*vv.* 6–8). The fact that Nadab and Abihu with the seventy elders make seventy-two, or six for each of the twelve tribes, whereas none of the other elders are mentioned by name, suggests that in the earlier tradition Nadab and Abihu held a more important position than the Pentateuch as it stands would imply. I have suggested elsewhere (*Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. VI. p. 163) that Aaron the founder of the calf cult of Bethel was supposed to have been an important elder or sheikh at the Exodus, and it may be that Nadab and Abihu, like Aaron, were credited with having founded sanctuaries or at least guilds of priests. In a matter of this kind all that is possible is to point out what *may* have happened. It is at least noteworthy that in Ex. xxiv Nadab and Abihu are mentioned in connexion with Aaron, while Eleazar and Ithamar are ignored; and this suggests that when Ex. xxiv took shape—probably in the sixth century B.C.—Nadab and Abihu, like Aaron, were thought of as heads or founders of priestly guilds. If Aaron represents the priesthood of Bethel, Nadab and Abihu may represent

the priesthoods of two other sanctuaries of northern Israel, which after the installation of Aaronites at Jerusalem were incorporated with them. It is unlikely that either of them was connected with the priesthood of Shechem; for Shechem was apparently the last of the northern sanctuaries to be closed.

It is certain that Nehemiah—like Zerubbabel before him—having been brought up in Zadokite traditions, would look with suspicion on any priest who could not prove Zadokite descent; and we may be pretty sure, judging from his action in regard to Eliashib's grandson (Neh. xiii. 28), that he would seize on any pretext for getting rid of those who in his eyes were not true priests.

It is not improbable therefore that the story of Nadab and Abihu (which, as has been shewn above, does not belong to the first draft of the Priestly Code) contains a true history of the elimination from the Jerusalem priesthood of guilds which at the time of Nehemiah had been incorporated with the sons of Aaron. They were got rid of, because they had committed what in Nehemiah's eyes was the unpardonable sin of kindling the altar fire as though it had been a fire for ordinary cooking. And since it was the custom to put law into the form which it was supposed it would have had in the time of Moses, the eponymous ancestors of the guilds of Nadab and Abihu were represented as slain by the divine justice for an irregularity similar to that for which the guilds of Nadab and Abihu had ceased to be priests. Similar stories are those which relate the putting of a man to death for sabbath breaking (Num. xv. 32–36), and of another for blasphemy (Lev. xxiv. 10–16).

The lighting of the altar fire, however, by concentrating the rays of the sun, even with the help of naphtha, must have been a somewhat uncertain process, particularly in winter time, since brilliant sunshine was necessary to accomplish it; and it is therefore not surprising that this method was subsequently given up.

Notwithstanding the law of Lev. vi. 13, which doubtless was normally observed after the time of Nehemiah, there must have been occasions when the altar fire became extinguished—by a heavy downpour of rain for example—and had to be relighted. It is stated in 2 Macc. x. 3 that at the kindling of the fire on the new altar at the rededication of the Temple in 165 B.C. the method adopted was the striking of stones—at least this must be the meaning of the phrase πυρώσαντες λίθους—and, presumably, this was the custom subsequently.

It is impossible to read the account of the kindling of the altar fire in 2 Macc. i without being reminded of the story of Elijah's sacrifice in 1 Kings xviii. It is probable that that story, though pre-Deuteronomic, was not written down before the latter part of the seventh century B.C., i.e. at least two centuries after the time of Elijah: and stories of this kind are likely to be embellished in the course of time. There is, however, no need to question its essential accuracy. It must be remembered that the test whether Jehovah or Baal was God took place at an ancient sanctuary of Jehovah on Carmel (Elijah *repairs the altar of Jehovah* that is broken down; 1 Kings xviii. 30; 31 is a later addition). There is no difficulty in supposing that at this ancient sanctuary the altar fire had been habitually kindled by the same method as the altar fire at Jerusalem, and that a supply of naphtha was kept on the spot for the purpose.[1] This method may have been unknown to the Tyrian priests; or if it was known, and they had naphtha available, there may have been something in the atmospheric conditions which caused them to fail. We need not suppose that Elijah would have been very scrupulous in the means he employed to bring about the victory of Jehovah over Baal; nevertheless it must be remembered that he doubtless sincerely believed that fire kindled by

[1] The naphtha in 2 Macc. i is described as "thick water", ὕδωρ παχύ.

means of a mirror reflecting the sun's rays was really fire from heaven. The addition to the story, viz. that the altar itself was consumed by the fire, may have arisen when Carmel was no longer considered a legitimate place wherein to sacrifice to Jehovah, and it was accordingly believed that Jehovah Himself, having allowed a special sacrifice to shew His power, had thereafter consumed the altar.[1]

[1] Verse 31, which is obviously a later insertion, represents the altar as entirely newly constructed, and states that it was composed of twelve stones. Verse 30, however, merely states that the altar was *repaired*, and makes no mention of stones. The mention of the stones in *v.* 38 therefore *may* depend upon *v.* 31. On the other hand there is no previous mention of the earth or dust (עפר), though this is perhaps implied by the construction of a trench. This trench, which, it may be remarked, was a very small one since it only held less than five and a half gallons, may have been merely cleared out by Elijah, and may have been intended originally to receive the blood which ran down from the top of the altar.

V

THE DAY OF ATONEMENT

THE legislation concerning the Day of Atonement holds a unique position in the Pentateuch. Having regard to what the Talmud tells us about its ceremonial, we should *a priori* expect to find fairly frequent references to it in the Old Testament. As a matter of fact, however, apart from Lev. xvi, where the regulations for its observance are given, there is no certain reference to it in the whole of the Old Testament, whether in the historical books, the prophets or the Hagiographa.[1] Indeed the idea of an annual fast is in itself far removed from the whole spirit of the older legislation, which finds expression in the words, "Thou shalt rejoice before Jehovah thy God" (Deut. xii. 18).

Moreover, the absence of references to the Day of Atonement cannot be explained on the supposition that the Old Testament writers had no occasion to mention the time of year when the observance of this day took place. In Zech. vii we read that the priests at the Temple were asked whether it was still necessary to observe certain fasts, which apparently at that period were held on the anniversaries of the disaster which had befallen Jerusalem in the last days of the Jewish monarchy, and the years which followed.[2] Doubt concerning the

[1] There is nothing to connect the acts of penitence referred to in Joel i. 12 ff., and Zech. xii. 10 ff., with the Day of Atonement. Isaiah lviii *might* be understood as referring to its observance; but on the whole fasting with the idea of removing some definite calamity seems to be here contemplated.

[2] On the ninth day of the fourth month Jerusalem was taken (Jer. xxxix. 2); on the seventh day of the fifth month the city and Temple were burnt (2 Kings xxv. 8 f.); in the seventh month (Jer. xli. 1 ff.), probably in the year 581 B.C. (cf. Jer. lii. 29), Gedaliah was murdered; on the tenth day of the tenth month Nebuchadnezzar began the siege of Jerusalem (2 Kings xxv. 1).

observance of these fasts had arisen,[1] because there was now a widespread hope that the disasters so commemorated were to be reversed. Zechariah maintained that there was no need to fast on the anniversaries mentioned, and that they should rather be observed as holidays (Zech. viii. 19). Certainly if there had been two fasts in the seventh month, and Zechariah claimed that only one should be turned into a holiday, we should expect to find that he expressly mentioned the one which he desired to retain. The natural inference from Zechariah's words is that in 518 B.C. the fast on the tenth day of the seventh month, viz. the Day of Atonement, was not observed.

How then did it originate?

It will be noticed that although the observance of the Day of Atonement is ordered in Lev. xxiii—i.e. in its natural place, regard being had to its date—the regulations for its ritual are given not in this chapter but in chap. xvi, where they are altogether separated from the injunctions concerning other holy days. It is indeed generally recognised that Lev. xxiii. 26–32 is a secondary insertion. The arrangement of Lev. xvi in its present position however, though not in accordance with English ideas of order, is perfectly natural in view of the Hebrew method of grouping passages according to the occurrence in them of certain outstanding words or of certain outward resemblances in their subject matter. The ceremonial connected with the two goats in chap. xvi resembles that connected with the two birds in chap. xiv. 4–7, 49–53; chap. xvi therefore is added as soon as possible after this section. Chapter xv indeed intervenes, because it also contains reference to two birds (*vv.* 14, 29) and therefore according to Hebrew ideas could not be separated from chap. xiv.

[1] It is probable that the text in Zech. vii. 3–5 has suffered some mutilation. It is unlikely that the priests would be questioned in November-December about a fast which did not fall due till the following July-August.

But though a Hebrew editor who desired to incorporate in the Priestly Code the legislation for the Day of Atonement would quite naturally adopt the existing arrangement, it does not follow that this particular legislation formed part of the original draft of that Code. It may have been inserted shortly after the publication of the latter,[1] perhaps by the very man or men by whom the Priestly Code was originally written.

Seeing then that there is no indication of any observance of the Day of Atonement in the days of Haggai and Zechariah, or before their time, while it seems probable that it held a place in an early revision of the Priestly Code, we naturally inquire whether we possess a record of any event in the time of Nehemiah through which it might have originated.

Unfortunately the Chronicler dealt so freely with the book of Nehemiah which he partly incorporated in his own work, that it is no easy matter to discover the exact order of events in Nehemiah's age. On the supposition, however, that Nehemiah's first visit to Jerusalem was comparatively short (cf. Neh. ii. 6), and that little else was accomplished at this time beyond the restoration of the city wall, his other activities may with considerable probability be assigned to the later period, when he had been permanently appointed governor.[2] If this supposition be correct, it would appear that as soon as he arrived in Jerusalem armed with civil authority, Nehemiah set to work to carry out a number of reforms which, brought up as he had been in the Zadokite traditions of the exiled Jews, he deemed essential. Of these reforms one of the first was to remove from the priesthood those who could not prove their descent

[1] Compare the story of the Flood which did not form part of the Jahvistic document in its original form, but was probably inserted in it not many years after the completion of the first draft.

[2] It is unlikely that Neh. vii has come down to us in its original form. Whereas *v.* 1*a* apparently refers to the city wall, *v.* 1*b* refers to the organisation of the *personnel* of the Temple.

from priests of the Captivity, that is to say, from Zadokites (Neh. vii; cf. *v.* 64). Shortly afterwards (Neh. vii. 73–viii), on *the first day of the seventh month*, the new law, or such parts of it as specially concerned the laity, was read at a large public meeting.[1] The hand of the Chronicler is conspicuous in this account; but even if he filled in details from his own imagination, the precise date, the first day of the seventh month, makes it probable that he had some tradition of the event or some anniversary celebration to go upon.

The day after the promulgation of the law mentioned above, i.e. *the second day of the seventh month*, an order was read that the Feast of Tabernacles should be kept. This feast was observed for seven days, but it is not here stated on what day of the month it began. *On the twenty-fourth day of the same month* a fast was observed, apparently in expiation of the national sins which had brought about the destruction of Jerusalem and the Exile.

According to Lev. xxiii. 39 the Feast of Tabernacles must begin on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. It is unlikely that people went home after keeping the Feast of Tabernacles on the twenty-second or twenty-third of the month, and on the twenty-fourth came back to weep and fast; and the Chronicler has probably put into one year what took place in two or more years. On this supposition the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles may be dated at least a year later.

If we may accept Neh. vii. 73 ff., viii. 9, as giving a substantially correct account, we may suppose that the order of events was somewhat as follows: Nehemiah's first care was to reform the public worship of the Temple.

[1] This is on the supposition that the first draft of the Priestly Code had already been published by Ezra, but since he, Ezra, had possessed no civil authority, it had been a dead letter (see *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 123).

Of this we have an independent account in 2 Macc. (see above, "The Altar Fire", pp. 96 ff.). Since it was desirable to impress upon the people the necessity of his reforms, Nehemiah took advantage of the new moon festival in the seventh month to publish or to reiterate some of the previously published Priestly Code. Thereupon, inasmuch as from his point of view nothing could be done apart from the Temple ritual to cleanse Judah from its pollutions, he proceeded, in accordance with the ritual described in Lev. viii. 8 f., to consecrate both the altar and those priests whom he had recently selected as qualified by genealogy to serve. The consecration ceremonies would occupy eight days more. Then, the altar and priesthood being rededicated, on *the tenth day of the seventh month* came a solemn act of expiation for the sins of the people. On this supposition therefore the Day of Atonement originated as *the annual commemoration of the solemn act of penitence* with which the Jewish community under Nehemiah inaugurated a new phase of religion at Jerusalem.

But if this be the origin of the fast, we have yet to explain the *rationale* of its ritual, which presents certain features the explanation of which is by no means easy. It will be well to consider first the more outstanding features, and, at the outset, the ritual connected with the two goats. Although we have no record of any such ritual in pre-exilic times, we have not far to look for the ideas underlying it; for in Zech. v. 5–11 we have a "vision", which is in reality an allegorical representation, expressing a very similar thought. Zechariah describes himself as seeing an "ephah" (i.e. a measure holding approximately a bushel), which is explained by the interpreting angel as symbolising the guilt of Judah. A heavy leaden disc forming the lid of the ephah is then lifted up, whereupon there is revealed within the ephah the figure of a woman seated, who, so the prophet is informed, symbolises "Wickedness". "Wickedness"

is not allowed to get out of the ephah for as soon as Zechariah has had a glimpse of the figure, she is thrust back into it and the heavy lid is shut down, thus keeping her boxed up. The ephah is then lifted up into the air by two winged women, who carry it to the land of Shinar, and *deposit it permanently there*. The meaning of this somewhat *bizarre* description is clear enough. The "guilt" (עָוֹן) of Judah, which according to Hebrew ideas automatically brings trouble upon the land, is transferred to the land of Shinar, i.e. Babylonia, where, as a punishment for Babylonian oppression of the Jews, it will permanently bring down trouble upon that land.[1]

No doubt in this representation of the transference of Judah's guilt Zechariah was not striking out an altogether new line. The idea of uncleanness as a physical infection goes back to very primitive days; and just as uncleanness excites the divine wrath, so does guilt. The same idea finds expression in the ritual prescribed for the cleansing of the leper (Lev. xiv. 4 ff.), where the living bird (which is brought into connexion with the candidate for cleansing by the application to both of the blood of the slain bird) is allowed to fly away carrying the uncleanness of leprosy with it.[2] In this case the living bird was set free without any destination being assigned to it; for the bird, being wild, was unlikely to return and bring the infection back. In

[1] Zechariah's teaching concerning the expected punishment of the Babylonian people may be compared with Isaiah's teaching concerning Assyria (Isaiah x. 5 ff.). It is to be noted that in Zechariah's allegory "wickedness" is removed with the guilt; for the prophet wishes to make it clear that the "guilt" which brings trouble cannot be removed without the "wickedness" which is the cause of the guilt.

[2] It is a far cry from Palestine in the fifth century B.C. to Cambridgeshire in the nineteenth century of the Christian era; but a somewhat similar method of removing infection was resorted to at Barton about a century ago. There had been a bad attack of smallpox in a farm-house, and by way of removing the infection a flock of sheep was driven upstairs and downstairs over the whole house.

Zechariah's allegory, however, the "guilt" of Judah is permanently transferred to Babylonia, thus implying that henceforth the Babylonians will suffer disaster as the people of Judah have suffered before the removal of their "guilt". The ritual prescribed for the Day of Atonement resembles Zechariah's allegory in this respect that the national "guilt" is *removed by means of the goat to a definite object*, in this case to *Azazel*. This implies that just as Babylonia was regarded as guilty for its treatment of Judah and therefore as deserving to suffer the calamities which the Babylonians had previously brought upon Judah, so *Azazel* was regarded as in some sort a cause of trouble to the Jews and therefore as deserving to incur all the penalties of Jewish "guilt".

This brings us to the crux of the whole ritual: Who was Azazel? The omission of any description of the name can be explained only on the supposition that it was too well known to need explanation; but we search Hebrew literature in vain for any reference to Azazel till we meet with it again some three centuries later in the book of Enoch. If it were possible to date the Enoch literature before Lev. xvi, and *if* that literature had acquired a quasi-canonical position in the Jewish church, the transference of the national sin to Azazel would be explicable: though even in such a case it would be difficult to discover why Azazel should be selected as the depository of Israel's guilt rather than any other fallen angel or demon. There is, however, no hint of the ascription of personal names to angels whether good or bad before the book of Daniel, 168–165 B.C.; and although it is evident that Gabriel and Michael are not here named for the first time, and that the book of Daniel must therefore have been preceded by some popular apocalyptic literature introducing angels with personal names, there is good reason to suppose that such literature had its origin after the completion of the

Pentateuch and therefore later than the composition of Lev. xvi.[1]

We must conclude therefore that the name *Azazel* came to be applied to a fallen angel considerably later than the institution of the Day of Atonement; and accordingly the book of Enoch throws no light on the meaning of the name in Lev. xvi.

It has been shewn above that the transference of the national sin to Azazel in the ritual of the Day of Atone-

[1] The representation of Jehovah as served by archangels was doubtless founded on the vision of Ezekiel, though Ezekiel himself probably made use of still earlier ideas. The four living creatures of Ezekiel's vision are in human form (Ezek. i. 5); and though as seen from different points of view each one has four faces, the face fronting the spectator on each of the four sides was a human face. It was natural therefore to regard these four "living creatures" as *angelic* beings, and, since they support the platform of the divine throne, as specially privileged to be in the presence of God. This idea would be confirmed by the representation of the four spirits in Zech. vi. 5, where it is stated that the spirit whose chariot proceeds to the north has a definite mission to fulfil. When once permanent functions had been ascribed to the archangels, it would be a short step to bestow on them definite names; and as soon as the naming of angels had become familiar other apocalyptic writers, who desired to emphasise divine activities other than those of which the four archangels were supposed to be the agents, would be disposed both to increase the number of archangels, and to give them appropriate names. As the unapproachable majesty of God was more and more insisted upon, the idea of angels took greater hold of the popular imagination, and the Scriptures were accordingly searched, as by some present-day preachers on Michaelmas Day, for evidence of angelic activity. Thus not only cherubim and seraphim were reckoned as orders in the hierarchy of heaven, but even the *ophannim*, i.e. the *wheels*, associated with the cherubim in Ezekiel's vision.

Moreover with the desire to read absolute monotheism into every part of the Old Testament the divine beings other than Jehovah (בני האלהים) were not unnaturally regarded as angels: and then, since the point of Gen. vi. 1–5 was entirely missed—for the intention of this passage is not to reprobate the *lust* of supernatural beings, but rather the risk of injury to Jehovah's sovereignty through the existence of men begotten by gods—it was supposed that certain angels had left their first estate and had become rebels against Jehovah. With the precedent of names for the good angels, human ingenuity was not long in finding names for the bad ones; and for such what could be more applicable than Azazel the supposed receptacle or recipient of all the sins of Israel?

ment is exactly analogous to the transference of Judah's guilt to the land of Shinar in Zechariah's allegory. In view of the late allegorical use of the valley of Hinnom, we might have supposed that this place would have been chosen to receive the sin-bearing goat. Hinnom, however, was in the very centre of the Jewish community, and it was obviously desirable to carry the national sin entirely away from Jewish homes. We must therefore look for a place outside the Jewish community, but sufficiently near to Jerusalem for the goat to be driven thither. It must not be forgotten that the strictly Jewish district of Nehemiah's days was very much smaller than the former kingdom of Judah, and probably considerably less than the province of which Zerubbabel had been governor. Judah *probably* suffered as the result of Zerubbabel's ill-advised scheme for the fortification of Jerusalem, and again at the beginning of the reign of Xerxes (Ezra iv. 6), and again during the reign of Artaxerxes (Ezra iv. 7 ff.), probably between 460 and 455 B.C. In Nehemiah's time a number of Palestinian non-Jewish people had taken up their residence in what had been Judah; in particular the Edomites spread northwards so that in the Maccabæan age the northern frontier of Idumæa was near Hebron. Moreover, if Jews living in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem had married women of Ashdod, Ammon and Moab (Neh. xiii. 23), it is probable that Ashdodites, Ammonites and Moabites were actually living in Jewish territory; and this being the case, it is not unlikely that there had likewise been migrations thither from the province of Samaria. Such a migration is made probable from the fact that whereas in Gen. xxxv. 16 ff. Rachel's tomb is in *Ephraimite* territory—Jer. xxxi. 15 locates it in or near Ramah—in post-exilic times *Ephrath* denotes the district of Bethlehem (cf. the gloss, Gen. xxxv. 19 *b*). The family of David having been transported to Babylonia, the district of Bethlehem was probably occupied by

settlers from Samaria. The account given in 2 Kings xvii. 24–41 may be inspired by hatred of the Samaritans, but there is no reason to doubt its historical truth: it is therefore likely that if there was any migration from Samaria to Judah, some at least of the immigrants, who professed the worship of Jehovah, still maintained certain heathen practices; and it is therefore not improbable that to the effects of some such immigration we should look for an explanation of the ritual connected with Azazel.

The name *Azazel* (עֲזָאזֵל) was rightly explained by Cheyne as the result of a transposition of letters, the real name being עֲזַזְאֵל (for עֲזַזְיָאֵל). This explanation receives some confirmation from the *Peshîṭâ* rendering of Lev. xvi, where the name is spelt ܥܙܐܙܝܠ. We need not suppose, however, that *Azazel* was originally the name of an angel or of any supernatural being; for *Azazel* occurs as a proper name in a connexion which makes it impossible to imagine that it was derived from Lev. xvi. Thus an Azazel (ܥܙܐܙܝܠ) of Samosata suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Diocletian (Bar Hebræus, *Chron.* Paris ed. p. 58). Obviously this man, when he became a Christian, did not derive his name from Lev. xvi, but must already have been so named when he became a Christian. Similarly one of the martyrs mentioned with him bore the pagan name of Bacchus.

But if *Azazel* be a pagan name, there is no difficulty in supposing that an Azazel settled in what had been Judæan territory between 586 and the time of Nehemiah and that he there continued the observance of some pagan practice or set up some pagan image. This is, of course, mere conjecture; but it is at least as probable a supposition as that Azazel was already regarded as an evil spirit in the days of Nehemiah. That a place which had suffered some catastrophe or had been utterly destroyed should be popularly considered the abode of evil spirits is entirely in harmony with the thought

which finds expression in Isaiah xiii. 22; and 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 16 supplies an illustration of the methods employed permanently to desecrate a place associated with heathenish practices. If then there is no historic improbability in the supposition that a pagan or semi-pagan man named Azazel gave his name to a place within easy reach of Jerusalem but in a district not actually inhabited by Jews, and that he there instituted heathen rites, we can readily understand how the place Azazel, being desecrated, became the dumping-ground for Jewish sin. On this hypothesis there is a close parallel between the transference of Judah's guilt to the land of Shinar in Zechariah's allegorical description and the transference of the national sin to Azazel on the Day of Atonement.

The identification of Azazel is, however, not the only difficulty connected with the Day of Atonement. It is equally hard to explain the prohibition of entry into the Holy of holies except on this occasion. In pre-exilic times there is no hint of so rigorous a seclusion of this part of the Temple. It is possible that some rite which Nehemiah regarded as heathenish and wished to abolish was observed here, but no hint of such a thing is found either in Ezek. viii or elsewhere in the Old Testament. The statement of 1 Kings viii. 8 is somewhat obscure, but it certainly seems to imply that formerly the interior of the Holy of holies was visible from the outer sanctuary. Perhaps this is also indicated by the description in Isaiah vi, though it would be unsafe to base any argument on the description there given. However, the statement that Nadab and Abihu died "before Jehovah" naturally means that they died in the immediate presence of some symbol of Jehovah, *sc.* the ark or the place where the ark ought to be. The head and front of their offending was the use in their censers of fire not taken from the altar—and this, although they were in the immediate vicinity of the most sacrosanct

ark. The evidence is scanty—and it must be remembered that later editors would be likely to modify passages which seemed flagrantly contrary to the law as it finally took shape—but in view of such evidence as is available it seems probable that until Nehemiah's governorship all priests had access to the Holy of holies, but that the discovery of what he deemed their criminal laxity in ritual matters induced Nehemiah to insist that thenceforth only one responsible person, and that the high priest, should be permitted to enter.

A curious provision is that the high priest shall come within the veil with his "hands full of sweet incense beaten small" which he is there to put upon the hot embers in his firepan or censer. Such a large amount of incense would produce a cloud of smoke sufficient to obscure everything in the Holy of holies as well as in the Holy Place, and its purpose appears to be to frustrate inquisitive gaze at the ark or at the place where the ark had once stood,[1] on the part of any Peeping Tom stationed immediately outside the Temple.

In other respects the ritual prescribed for the Day of Atonement corresponds with that which was ordinarily adopted for the removal of sin, whether that sin were incurred wittingly or unwittingly. Thus the young bullock of Lev. xvi. 3 corresponds to the similar victim in iv. 3; the ram for the burnt offering in xvi. 3 corresponds to the ram of the guilt offering in v. 14–vi. 7, with this difference however, that the ram of Lev. xvi

[1] The section Jer. iii. 14–16 (which, with its sudden change from Israel personified as a woman to the address, "Return ye backturning children", is not the natural sequence of the preceding passage) is probably not by Jeremiah but by a later hand. It seems to be founded on Jer. iii. 6–13 and xxiii. 4. It is unlikely that Jeremiah, viewing Jerusalem as he died, would use the language of *v.* 14. If, as is probable, Jer. iii. 14–16 is post-exilic, it suggests that there may have been in Nehemiah's time a proposal to construct another ark, which proposal Nehemiah, holding the Ark and its contents to be irreplaceable, desired to frustrate, and that he therefore enforced the closing of the Holy of holies, in order that the absence of the ark might not be noticed.

being in effect the high priest's own guilt offering, no part of it belongs to the high priest himself, but it is wholly consumed as a burnt offering.

The ritual of the blood in xvi. 14 is similar to that in iv. 6, 14 ff., except that the blood is brought within the veil.

The goat that is killed as a sin offering for the people (xvi. 15) corresponds to the goat prescribed in iv. 22–31. The disposal of the carcases of the bullock and the goat (Lev. xvi. 27 f.) is in accordance with Lev. iv. 11–12.

The annual hallowing of the altar and of the sanctuary, xvi. 20, may be explained as has been suggested above as an anniversary rite commemorating and continuing Nehemiah's consecration of the Temple.

The question may however be asked, in view of the tremendous importance attached to the Day of Atonement in the Talmud, whether such a celebration could have arisen almost fortuitously out of a rehallowing on some definite occasion. It is indeed probable that even during Nehemiah's governorship the Day of Atonement, though primarily an anniversary commemoration, was something more. Having regard to what we learn from the book of Malachi as to the laxity of the priests a few years before Nehemiah's governorship, and of what Josephus tells us of the high priest John (*Ant.* xi. 7) a few years later, we can well believe that Nehemiah found it no easy matter to keep the ritual up to concert pitch, and that a yearly rehallowing was then in his eyes not a mere commemoration but a necessary safeguard.[1] It is, moreover, evident that it was long before the Palestinian Jews generally could be induced to accept Nehemiah's more strait-laced ideas concerning their obligation. When once a piece of religious ceremonial

[1] Ezekiel (xlv. 18–25) had contemplated some such rehallowing twice a year (cf. Buchanan Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, p. 309).

has become well established however, the whole history of ritual shews how readily it is regarded as essential, and how intensely men fear any breach in its observance. Magic may indeed pass into symbolism, but the converse is also true, and what has originated as a symbol becomes a magical means of securing a desired result. The faith which finds utterance in Isaiah lxvi. 1–3 has attained to a height far beyond the reach of the majority of mankind. The world is as yet convinced neither by Hosea nor by Jesus that the Father Everlasting will have mercy and not sacrifice.

vi

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PSALMS

§ I

THE scope of this short treatise is strictly limited. No attempt is here made to provide a commentary on the Psalter, but merely to point out, what indeed is the essential preliminary to the writing of any satisfactory commentary, the historical background in relation to which the Psalms must be studied. On the one hand it has commonly been accepted in the past, and is still maintained by some, that very many of the psalms were composed by David the son of Jesse: on the other, the Maccabæan date of some psalms is widely recognised. If therefore both of these views were correct, the composition of the Psalter would be spread over a period of upwards of 800 years, the whole history of which both religious and political would require the most careful scrutiny. We shall do well therefore to inquire at the outset whether the period to which the Psalter may be assigned can have been of such long duration, particularly in regard to its *terminus a quo*.

For the Davidic authorship of any of the psalms there is, as a matter of fact, no evidence except that some of them have a heading "To David", followed in certain cases by a reference to the particular events in David's life which, it is supposed, have led to their composition. These headings, however, have no historical value, for the psalms to which they are prefixed, not only in their general tone, but also in their explicit statements, are strikingly at variance with what is recorded of David in the books of Samuel. Is it conceivable, to give but one instance, that after listening to Nathan's parable David

should have ignored his sin against Uriah, which Samuel insists upon (2 Sam. xii. 9), and should have declared to Jehovah, "Against thee, thee only have I sinned, and done that which is evil in thy sight"?

The religion of the Psalter taken as a whole is not the religion of David, nor the popular religion of his age, as reflected in the books of Samuel. The idea of David commonly held is indeed founded almost exclusively on the psalms of which he has been supposed to be the author. He has been regarded as a man of intense religious fervour, a whole-hearted adherent of Jehovah, not only in his absolute rejection of the worship of any other god, but also in his loyalty to the Law and all its ordinances; and since readers of the books of Samuel have commonly approached these books with opinions about David already formed, it is not surprising that they have utterly failed to see the real significance of what is there recorded concerning him. True, intense religious fervour is frequently found in conjunction with a very low code of morality; and therefore isolated utterances of a heathen in regard to his god, in the absence of anything definitely revealing his moral outlook, may imply to Christian ears a highly developed spirituality. But the books of Samuel, although they have been greatly bowdlerised, still retain for those who have eyes to see abundant traces of the primitive and heathenish character of David's religion and that of most of his contemporaries. To find the counterpart of such religion to-day we must go to the Bedouin of the desert, and, in some respects, to the natives of the Uganda Protectorate.[1]

[1] Contrast David's conception of Jehovah as a local god (1 Sam. xxvi. 19) with the declaration of Ps. xxxiv. 18 that "Jehovah is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart" (cf. also Pss. lvii. 3 ff., lxv. 5 ff., cxxxix); David's treatment of Uriah with the protestation of Pss. vii. 4, lv. 23; David's toleration of household gods (1 Sam. xix. 13) with the reverence for the law professed in Ps. xix. 7 ff. The statement that David danced *before Jehovah* (2 Sam. vi. 14) implies a belief in a *local* presence

But if there is so great a contrast between the David of popular imagination based on the Psalter and the David of the books of Samuel, how has it come about that the Psalms have been ascribed to him? The books of Samuel, apart from the late appendix 2 Sam. xxi–xxiv, record as composed by David only two funeral elegies, one on Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 17–27) and one on Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33 ff.). In what is probably one of the oldest passages relating to David, however, viz. 1 Sam. xvi. 14–18, he is described, not as a poet, but as a skilled musician; though needless to say musical skill might frequently be accompanied with a genius for poetical composition.[1]

It is evident that from the time of Ezekiel onwards there was a tendency to idealise David, since it was supposed that the permanence of his dynasty, in contrast to the frequent change of dynasty in the northern kingdom, marked him out as specially favoured of Jehovah; but this idealisation would not in itself have caused him to be thought of as a poet, and if David is not the author of the psalms ascribed to him, we must look for some other explanation of the heading "To David".

In the first place it is to be noted that we find not only "To David" (לְדָוִד) but also the same preposition followed by other names, and sometimes *two* such headings to the same psalm, e.g. in Ps. xxxix. Thus we have not only psalms headed "To Asaph",

of Jehovah (*sc.* in the ark), and for the dance itself, which scandalised Michal, we must seek an explanation not in the *joie de vivre* of a spiritually minded man—one who dances from *joie de vivre* does not dance *with all his might* but from the exuberance of his bodily vigour—but rather in those heathenish ideas which find expression in similar dances at the present time, and which Christian missionaries labour to abolish.

[1] This view of David, viz. as a musician, appears at first sight to be borne out by Amos vi. 5; but the Hebrew text of this passage would be in itself suspicious, even if it were confirmed by the LXX, which, however, for כדויד has ὡς ἑστηκότα.

"To the Sons of Korah", etc. but also "To the *m'nassēaḥ* (למנצח); and since the last mentioned heading is often associated with the inscription "To David", it is of the first importance to discover its meaning. The explanation of the phrase "To the *m'nassēaḥ*" which is given in the *Oxford Dictionary* has indeed found wide acceptance, and it will accordingly be well to consider whether it is justified by the available evidence. Under the *Piel* of the root נצח the *Oxford Dictionary* has the following account of the meaning of the word:

In liturgical service of song עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית, over the bass voices, leading them with בִּנְגִינוֹת, 1 Chr. 15, 21; לַמְנַצֵּחַ in titles of ψψ has probably similar meaning, = *musical director* or *choirmaster*. ...Chr., near in date, gives the clue which is intrinsically probable: ל indicates not assignment (nothing special in these ψψ to suggest it, and assignment of ψψ for such use a matter of course) but that these ψψ were taken by the final editor from an older major Psalter known as the Director's Collection, cf. the still earlier collection known as לדוד, לאסף, לבני קרח. The 55 ψψ with למנצח were taken 39 from Davidic, 9 from Korahite, and 5 from Asaphic Psalters; only 2 anonymous. Hb 3 originally belonged to Director's Psalms. This and other Director's ψψ have musical directions in titles. The Director's Psalter was prob. the prayer-book of Synagogue of Gk. period presupposed by our Hab., the collection of the twelve Minor Prophets, the prophetic canon and Daniel.

For translations based on this theory it is sufficient to refer to Brigg's commentary on the Psalms (*I.C.C.*), *passim*. The upholders of the theory, however, overlook the fallacy on which it is based. To *lead* voices with lyres (בִּנְגִינוֹת) is absolutely distinct from *acting as musical director or choirmaster*. Indeed to interpret the verb לְנַצֵּחַ in 1 Chron. xv. 21 as meaning to *direct* would make the whole account ridiculous; and although some of the Chronicler's stories, e.g. of battles, appear to

be lacking in probability, it will generally be admitted that with regard to music he wrote about something with which he was well acquainted. He had, it is true, no knowledge of the history of music, and he naturally supposed that the music of David's time was identical with that of the age in which he, the Chronicler, lived; but with regard to the latter he was undoubtedly an expert.

Accordingly the Chronicler's account of the musical arrangements on the occasion of the bringing up of the ark by David to Jerusalem gives us a vivid picture of such musical arrangements as would be made in the Chronicler's own day for a festal occasion. Probably the names of the performers given by the Chronicler are the names of those who were reputed founders of the guilds or bands of musicians who performed in the Temple in his own age. Now among these *musicians*[1] the following are mentioned by name:

(*a*) *Heman*, *Asaph* and *Ethan* whose function is "to sound aloud" (להשמיע) with brass cymbals; evidently they are not regarded as vocalists, but as forming the orchestra—or an important part of it—for loud orchestral effects;

(*b*) *Zechariah*, *Aziel*, *Shemiramoth*, *Jehiel*, *Unni*, *Eliab*, *Maaseiah* and *Benaiah*—eight persons with lutes (נבלים) who are associated with עלמות apparently *treble voices;*

(*c*) *Mattithiah*, *Eliphelehu*, *Mikneiah*, *Obed-edom*, *Jeiel*, and *Azariah*—six persons with lyres (כִּנֹּרוֹת) who are associated with the שמינית (? bass) and the function both of the eight persons in class (*b*) and of the six in class (*c*) is לְנַצֵּחַ. Obviously this cannot mean to *act as directors or choirmasters*; for a choir with fourteen choirmasters would be a bear-garden indeed. Clearly the softer

[1] The verb שורר is evidently used by the Chronicler in connexion with *instrumental* as well as vocal music.

stringed instruments are to accompany and lead the voices, and, probably, to give out the melody; while the brazen instruments, which would drown the voices, are for loud orchestral effects. If therefore we interpret מְנַצֵּחַ in the light of 1 Chron. xv. 21, it will mean the person, or, more probably, that part of the orchestra, whose function is to accompany the voices; and its equivalent in a modern church would be the choir organ. Hence לַמְנַצֵּחַ is a musical direction indicating the nature of the accompaniment, the particular instruments being specified in some cases (e.g. liv. 1, lv. 1, lxi. 1, lxvii. 1), and the tune in others (e.g. lvi. 1, lvii. 1).

But if לַמְנַצֵּחַ is a *musical* direction, we naturally ask whether the similar heading לדוד can likewise be so interpreted. Probably it should be. It has been noted above that the Chronicler mentions *Heman*, *Asaph* and *Ethan* as appointed to perform on the loud clanging cymbals: in other words he regards them as instrumentalists, and says nothing about their vocal performance. Now Pss. l, lxxiii–lxxxiii are all headed "To Asaph", and Ps. lxxxix "To Ethan"; and, further, whereas a *Jeduthun* is mentioned (1 Chron. xvi. 41) as among those who performed on trumpets and cymbals "to sound aloud" (להשמיע), Pss. xxxix and lxxvii are headed "To Jeduthun".[1]

Moreover, a number of psalms (xlii–xlix, lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvii, lxxxviii) are headed "To the Korahites" and here it is extremely improbable that authorship is intended.

If, however, all these headings as *originally* prefixed to the Psalms are musical directions, the difficulty vanishes. We ourselves speak of singing the canticles "to Wesley", "to Stainer", etc. There is surely nothing

[1] על in Ps. lxxvii is probably a mere blunder for ל.

improbable in the supposition that the oldest traditional mode of singing among the Jews was associated with the name of David, "the sweet musician of Israel" (2 Sam. xxiii. 1);[1] or that another mode bore the name of the Korahites,[2] and another the name of Asaph (cf. 1 Chron. xxv; 2 Chron. xxxv. 15, etc.), and another the name of Jeduthun. Such an explanation will remove the difficulty that Ps. lxxxviii has the double heading "To the Korahites" and "To Heman the Ezrahite", and Ps. lxxvii "To Jeduthun"[3] and "To Asaph".

It is by no means improbable that already in the time of the Chronicler when the Temple *personnel* was very numerous, the Levitical singers were divided into various "courses", taking turns in their attendance at the Temple, and that the "courses" of Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, etc., had respectively their traditional modes of singing.

It is noteworthy that Ben Sira (Ecclus. xlvii), though he represents David as giving thanks with words of glory and singing praise with his whole heart, and states that he set singers before the altar, does not say that these singers sang the compositions of David.

If "To David" referred originally to the tune or mode, there is no difficulty in the supposition that the original significance was forgotten, and that the phrase was understood as denoting authorship. A precisely similar thing has happened in English sacred literature. The well-known hymn "Great God, what do I see and hear?" is even now frequently spoken of as "Luther's hymn". It is not, however, included in the Lutheran hymn-book, nor does it exist in German. But the tune is Luther's.

[1] Already in the time of Ben Sira, David was credited with the institution of the musical service of the Temple. Ben Sira, however, does *not* say that David was the author of the psalms there sung.

[2] Apparently the Korahites in the days of the Chronicler had ceased to be numbered with the Levitical choirs. The reason of their exclusion may perhaps be found in Num. xvi.

[3] Reading לידותון as in Ps. xxxix.

It is obvious that when the preposition "to" in the titles of the psalms had come to be understood of authorship, and Asaph and Ethan were supposed to have been contemporaries of David, the antiquity of the Psalter as a whole was generally accepted. Speculation concerning the authorship of psalms not associated with the names of David or other musicians would therefore be concerned with the distant past: and if the sentiments expressed in a psalm seemed appropriate in the mouth of Moses (Ps. xc) or of Solomon (Ps. lxxii), no one would be deterred by fear of anachronism from ascribing the psalm to him. Apart from the Psalter, the Old Testament affords a number of examples of a popular tendency to connect poetical compositions with historical personages, or with those who were so regarded, in spite of phrases making such a connexion extremely improbable if not actually impossible. Thus in the Pentateuch itself, the collection of sayings concerning the tribes is put into the mouth of the dying Israel, regardless of the incongruity of these sayings with the situation of the assumed speaker. How, for example, could Levi and Simeon be "divided in Jacob"? How could it be said that the sceptre should not depart from Judah centuries before Judah acquired the sceptre? etc. Similarly the song of triumph in Ex. xv, while admirably suited to be sung at a commemoration of the deliverance from Egypt, could not have been sung by the shore of the Red Sea before the news of Israel's success had reached the ears of Philistia, Edom, Moab and Canaan. The reference to Reuben and Judah in the so-called Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii) are quite at variance with the actual situation of these tribes at the time of Moses' death.

Similar incongruities are found in the next division of the Hebrew canon. The poem ascribed to Hannah (1 Sam. ii) is a song of victory in war (cf. v. 4), not a song of thanksgiving because the taunts of a spiteful rival

wife have been made futile. The poem in 2 Sam. xxiii, which begins by mentioning David in the third person, is written about, not by, David. The psalm in Jonah ii, which describes the deliverance of the author from his tribulations under the figure of deliverance from drowning (cf. Pss. xviii. 16, xlii. 7), would not be suitable in Jonah's mouth if the story of Jonah were understood as a literal history. If "the weeds were wrapped about" Jonah's head we should have expected some account of the manner in which the fish extricated him from such a predicament.

Certainly an editor who felt no difficulty in ascribing to Hannah 1 Sam. ii. 1–10 or to Jonah chap. ii. 2–9 would not feel the slightest incongruity in ascribing Ps. xc to Moses or Ps. lxxii to Solomon.

Further it is to be noted that whereas Asaph, Ethan and Jeduthun are by the Chronicler reckoned among the Levites (1 Chron. xv. 17, xvi. 5, 37–42) the distinction between priests and Levites did not exist before 621 B.C. and is first found in Ezekiel (xliv. 9 ff.).

In one other respect, however, it will be well to clear the ground before passing on to consider the historical background of the Psalter. Reference has already frequently been made to the book of Chronicles, and without at present inquiring whether the Psalter in its present form existed in the days of the Chronicler, it will be well to consider what evidence exists as to the date of the latter. Since the Chronicler in giving the genealogy of the high priests (Neh. xii. 12 ff.) ends his list with Jaddua, who according to Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8, § 4) was high priest at the coming of Alexander the Great in 332 B.C., it has been commonly supposed that the Chronicler himself lived and wrote in the days of Jaddua. Other considerations, however, make this early date for Chronicles extremely unlikely, if not impossible. For the Chronicler incorporated in his work extracts from a book of Ezra and a book of Nehemiah. Nehemiah

is mentioned in the list of famous men (Ecclus. xliv–l) and it is probable that Ben Sira derived his knowledge of him from a written account which was to some extent associated with the Hebrew scriptures. About Ezra, however, Ben Sira, notwithstanding his great reverence for the Law, is altogether silent; and the conclusion is irresistible that he was not acquainted with any *written and quasi-canonical account* of Ezra. If therefore the book of Ezra is later than the book of Ecclesiasticus, the date of the Chronicler cannot be earlier than the second century B.C.

But this is not all. In Ezra i. 7 ff.—which is clearly the work of the Chronicler—we find the statement that "Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the house of his gods; even those did Cyrus King of Persia bring forth by the hand of Mithredath the treasurer and numbered them unto Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah" (cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7). There is no difficulty in supposing that the Chronicler—or some other writer whose work he used—had access to a list of former Babylonian and Persian officials in Judah, from which he unearthed the name which appears as Sheshbazzar. But where did he find authority for his statement about the sacred vessels? In 2 Kings xxiv. 13 (cf. xxv. 15) it is stated that these sacred vessels were *broken up*. In Jer. xxviii. 3–6 (cf. xxvii. 18 ff.) indeed the vessels are regarded as still intact; but the section Jer. xxvii ff., although its general historicity need not be called in question, is not the work of Jeremiah, but of a later writer (as the form Nebuchad*n*ezzar instead of the more correct Nebuchad*r*ezzar shews), and its testimony cannot invalidate the explicit statement of 2 Kings xxiv. 13. Certainly if there existed an ancient tradition that the vessels of the Temple had been carried to Babylon, and subsequently restored to Jerusalem, it would be hard to explain why the writer

of 2 Kings xxiv. 13 should have asserted that they were broken up. On the other hand it is possible to explain how the earlier statement of 2 Kings xxiv. 13 came subsequently to be ignored. It is significant that the sacred vessels appear as intact in Daniel v, whence the Chronicler seems to have derived his statement. But the reference to the sacred vessels in Daniel v can be accounted for without postulating any ancient authority for it. For the rulers of Babylon in the book of Daniel are a thin disguise for Antiochus Epiphanes, who had deposed the legitimate high priest and had appointed instead a Benjamite—Menelaus; and both these had shocked the Jews by making away with some of the sacred vessels of the Temple (2 Macc. iv. 32, v. 15).

Another point of agreement between the Chronicler and the book of Daniel is that they both relate the captivity of Jehoiakim (2 Chron. xxxvi. 6; Daniel i. 1, 2). It cannot indeed be affirmed that the Chronicler here rests upon the book of Daniel, though it is evident that both he and the author of Daniel lived in an age when the captivity of Jehoiakim was accepted as true history.

Further, in reading the work of the Chronicler—who, as is generally admitted, was untrammelled by any fear or consciousness of anachronisms or other improbabilities, and who wrote as he imagined the events which he recorded to have taken place—it is most important that we should ask the question whether the Chronicler's account of a particular event was sheer imagination, or was based upon something which he himself had seen or had heard described by eye-witnesses.

To the first class, sheer imagination, we must assign the famous description of the battle in the wilderness of Tekoa (2 Chron. xx. 20–25), though even here the narrative may not be altogether original. In other accounts, however, even if in some cases the Chronicler's stories are equally improbable from a strictly historical point of view, they are evidently, as the Sunday School

prize books used to put it, "founded on fact". Such is the account of the musical *programme* on the occasion of the bringing up of the ark by David (1 Chron. xv), which undoubtedly gives a true picture of a festal procession in the Chronicler's own lifetime.

Another account in which the Chronicler seems to have drawn on what he has seen or has heard from eye-witnesses is the story of Hezekiah's purification of the Temple (2 Chron. xxix), for which there is no authority in the book of Kings apart from the brief statement in 2 Kings xviii. 4. The only purification of the Temple with which we are acquainted between the Exile and the period of a man who wrote after the publication of the book of Daniel is that which preceded the rededication of the Temple on December 25, 165 B.C. (1 Macc. iv. 36 ff.; 2 Macc. x. 1–8); and though the Chronicler is not quoting 1 Maccabees (or *vice versa*), what is there described bears a considerable resemblance to his account of Hezekiah's purification of the Temple.[1]

Yet one other passage may be referred to in which the Chronicler is evidently describing something the like of which he has himself seen, viz. David's preparation of building materials (1 Chron. xxii, xxviii, xxix). Certainly the writer of this account had seen building on a large scale, and apparently, building connected with the Temple. Here again the rebuilding of these parts of the Temple which Antiochus or Alcimus had pulled down (1 Macc. iv. 38, ix. 54; 2 Macc. viii. 33) suggests the source of the Chronicler's knowledge of building preparations.

But if the Chronicler wrote as least as late as 165 B.C. and probably—since his work appears to have been composed in a time of peace—not before the high priesthood of Simon, or even later, it is evident that

[1] There seems to have been a drastic reform at the Temple under Nehemiah (2 Macc. i) but it is not implied that Nehemiah found in the Temple "uncleanness", i.e. heathen abominations.

Chronicles cannot be appealed to in order to prove an early date for the Psalter. 1 Chron. xvi may be taken as evidence that the Psalter substantially as we have it existed when the Chronicler wrote: but if Chronicles be dated in the high priesthood of Simon (143–135 B.C.) or in that of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.), the *terminus ad quem* for the compilation of the Psalter, as far as the book of Chronicles is concerned, is brought well into the second half of the second century B.C.

Points of agreement in phraseology between the Psalter and Ecclesiasticus do not necessarily prove the priority of the former; for if, as is probable, Hebrew religious phraseology was to some extent fixed before the days of Ben Sira, the latter, like the psalmists, may often have used phrases which are found elsewhere without consciously quoting. It has been supposed that in Job vii. 17 there is a direct reference to Psalm viii. 4. This, however, is by no means certain, and at most it would only prove the priority of this particular psalm to the book of Job. Moreover, there is no proof that the poetical portion of the book of Job is earlier than Ecclesiasticus. Even if it be conceded that Job was mentioned at all in Ecclesiasticus (xlix. 9), it cannot be affirmed that Ben Sira refers to more than Ezekiel xiv. 14, 20; though it is improbable that the writer who composed the speeches of Eliphaz is separated by any great interval of time from Ben Sira.

The above considerations enable us to bring down the *terminus ad quem* of the compilation of the Psalter to the second half of the second century B.C. With regard to its *terminus a quo* it is sufficient at the present stage of our inquiry merely to determine whether it can be dated during the Hebrew monarchy or during or after the Babylonian Exile. That the latter event is referred to in Ps. cxxxvii does not of course in itself prove the post-exilic date of the psalms contained in the earlier collection. Since, however, there is not the slightest

hint of a plurality of altars, nor of the religious upheaval produced by the reformation under Josiah, no reference to the Chaldeans or to any present exile in Babylon, or any recent return thence, and no mention of Medes or Persians, we may safely conclude that the Psalter as a whole is post-exilic. The religion of the psalmists is indeed the religion of post-exilic Judaism.

§ II

It is scarcely necessary to point out, what indeed is generally recognised, that the division of the Psalter into five books is an arbitrary one, probably designed in imitation of the similar division of the Law. Book I (Pss. i–xli)—in which all the psalms have a heading "To David" except i and ii (apparently prefixed after the compilation of the whole Psalter), x (a modification of the second half of ix) and xxxiii—apparently existed as a separate collection. The psalms contained in books II and III however (xlii–lxxii and lxxiii–lxxxix) seem to have suffered some dislocation; for while xlii[1]–xlix have the heading "To the Korahites", l is headed "To Asaph", and li–lxxii "To David" (except lxvi, lxvii, lxxi the last two in the Greek being headed "To David"), and lxxii which is ascribed to Solomon. Psalms lxxiii–lxxxiii are headed "To Asaph", lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvii and lxxxviii "To the Korahites", lxxxix "To Ethan", lxxxvi alone "To David". Thus the group of psalms li–lxxii (which, as is evident from the following note "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended", were all connected with David) is at present inserted in the midst of a group of psalms connected with the names of Temple musicians so that the Asaphic psalm l is separated from the other Asaphic psalms lxxiii–lxxxiii, and the Korahitic psalms xlii–xlix from the other Korahitic psalms lxxxiv, lxxxv,

[1] xliii is really part of xlii.

lxxxvii and lxxxviii. It would seem, therefore, that the original arrangement was li–lxxii (regarded as Davidic), l, lxxiii–lxxxiii (Asaphic), xlii–xlix, lxxxiv–lxxxviii with the exception of lxxxvi (Korahitic), lxxxix (Ethanic). We may conclude, therefore, that the psalms in the first three books were originally grouped according to the tunes to which they were marked as to be sung: i–xli and li–lxxii (with the exception of some not labelled) being sung to "David", and the next group to various modes traditional in the Levitical choirs.

With the correction in the arrangement of the psalms described above the present distinction between books II and III vanishes; there is moreover, as will be shewn, further evidence to prove that it is artificial. Apparently some time after the psalms in books II and III had been added to those in book I, an editor appended to Ps. lxxii—in its original position—the note "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended". After the transposition of the group li–lxxii to its present place, at the time of the division of the whole Psalter into five books, doxologies were added to the last psalm in each book, except in book V, where its place is taken by the doxological psalm cl. There is no real division between books IV and V, Ps. cvii belonging naturally to the group beginning cv; the Psalter therefore falls not into five, but into three main divisions.

Further, the original unity of books II and III is made practically certain by the fact that these books, with the exception of Pss. lxxxiv–lxxxix (evidently a later appendix), have been subjected to the same literary revision, and have come down to us not in their original form, but in an *Elohistic* recension. We may be pretty certain that a Hebrew writer did not originally write that "*Elohim* judges among elohim", and that in this passage (Ps. lxxxii. 1) the first Elohim has been substituted for the *Tetragrammaton*.

But why and when was this systematic substitution of

Elohim for the *Tetragrammaton* carried out? Obviously it must be related in some way to the unwillingness of the Jews to pronounce the proper name of the God of Israel; and it will be helpful in solving the problem of the Elohistic recension of a portion of the Psalter if we can discover when this unwillingness first arose. The prophet whom we call Malachi certainly had no hesitation in writing the *Tetragrammaton*, and we may question whether he would have shrunk from pronouncing it. The book of Nehemiah, it is true, in its original form probably had the phrase "my God" rather than the *Tetragrammaton*; but the account of the revelation of the name of the God of Israel given in the Priestly Code (Ex. vi. 2) contains no hint that the name is ineffable. Before the LXX translation of the law was made however, *Adhônāy* (אדני) had come to be substituted in pronunciation for Yahweh (יהוה); so that the practice seems to have originated between the middle of the fifth and the beginning of the third century B.C.

This practice *may* have had its origin in Babylonia, where the Jews were living among heathen; but had this been the case, we should have expected that it would have influenced the literary form of the Priestly Code. It is possible that in its present form Lev. xxiv. 10–16 implies that the *Tetragrammaton* is ineffable; but this passage, if *based* on an early document, has probably undergone some modification after the compilation of the Pentateuch.[1]

But if in Nehemiah's time it was not felt necessary to prohibit the pronunciation of the *Tetragrammaton*, there would be even less need for such prohibition in the century following his death; when, except perhaps for a few Persian officials, the Jews of Jerusalem and the small province of Judah were a homogeneous and

[1] Since נקב occurs nowhere else as meaning "blaspheme", its use in this passage should perhaps be associated with that in Isaiah lxii. 2. *Israelite* (ישראלי) is not found elsewhere in the Pentateuch.

isolated community. After 332 B.C., however, the situation was entirely changed. With the coming of Alexander old barriers were broken down, and Hellenism obtained a footing in Jerusalem itself. We can well understand how under such circumstances strict Jews would shrink from hearing the sacred name lightly or irreverently pronounced by the heathen, and in order to prevent this, would themselves avoid using it. It must be remembered that an oath by Yahweh was the only oath generally regarded as both legitimate and binding among the Jews themselves (see Deut. vi. 13; Josh. ix. 19, 20; Judges xxi. 7; Isaiah lxv. 16, etc.), and pagans who were aware of the binding character of this oath would naturally demand it, and in so doing would pronounce the sacred name.[1]

But though it is probable that the Jews had ceased to pronounce the *Tetragrammaton* between, say, 332 and 270 B.C. there is no evidence that there was as yet any scruple in *writing* it. We have to inquire therefore whether there was a time when the same considerations which would have caused the Jews to abstain from pronouncing the divine name would have caused them to avoid writing it. It is noteworthy that in many modern Hebrew books, especially those printed in the last century in Russia and Poland, the printing of the *Tetragrammaton* is altogether avoided, השם=ה׳ ("the Name") being substituted for it, while אלהים (God) is intentionally misprinted אלדים or אלקים. It is not improbable that in this modern practice we may find a clue to the Elohistic recension of a portion of the Psalter. The modern avoidance of the printing of the

[1] Cf. Martial xi. 94, which proves that, at all events in later times, pagans were chary of accepting the oath of a Jew unless he swore by some *Jewish* object of reverence. There is no reason why Martial should demand that a Jew should swear by the *place* Anchialus. The oath which to Martial's ears sounded like *Anchialum* was perhaps הן חי אלהים ("Yea, as God lives").

Tetragrammaton and the misprinting of אלהים is not from any fear of profanation by Jews—for both יהוה and אלהים are freely written in the synagogue rolls—but are due to the dread that writings which are certain to be reverenced in the hands of Jews may fall into the hands of Gentiles and be profaned. Accordingly in order to account for the Elohistic recension of Pss. xlii–lxxxiii we must find a period when Jewish books were in danger from profanation by the heathen.[1] It has been supposed that there was a religious persecution of the Jews in the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus (362–339 B.C.); but the passage which has been relied on to prove this (Josephus, *Ant.* XI. 7, § 1) proves nothing of the sort; for not only is it certain from the Elephantine papyri that the high priest John mentioned in this account lived in the previous century under Artaxerxes Mnemon and not under Artaxerxes Ochus, but Josephus does not mention any religious persecution in the reign of the latter. So far indeed from desiring to interfere with the religious observances of the Jews, it is evident that Bagoses (Bagoas=בגוי) desired that the Temple sacrifices should be as numerous as possible.

The only time within our knowledge when Palestinian Jews were persecuted for their religion was the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (175–165 B.C.) when a determined effort was made to destroy the books of the Law (1 Macc. i. 41 ff., 56 ff.; cf. 2 Macc. vi, vii). We may be certain that those who were desirous of destroying copies of the Law would not discriminate between the Law and other Jewish religious writings, and that any document which contained the name of the God of

[1] This argument is not invalidated by the fact that some of the psalms which have undergone an Elohistic recension were manifestly written in a time of victory and peace. Those who for a long time had been in the habit of substituting אלהים for יהוה would not at once give it up. Moreover the recrudescence of the Gentile power under Antiochus Sidetes must not be forgotten.

Israel was liable to be defaced and defiled. History repeats itself, and in modern times the Scriptures of the Syrian Christians have suffered like things at the hands of Kurds and Turks.

In December 165 B.C.[1] Lysias was compelled to grant religious toleration to the Jews of Jerusalem and Judæa; but the Jews outside Judæa, especially in Galilee and Gilead, were still liable to be persecuted by the heathen (1 Macc. v). In order to rescue their co-religionists the Hasmonæan brothers carried out campaigns in these districts. These are represented as in the main successful; nevertheless it was considered expedient, wherever possible, to transport to Judæa the Jews dwelling in Gilead (1 Macc. v. 45 ff.). It is, however, clear that many Jews still remained in heathen localities, and that these were exposed to persecution (see 1 Macc. v. 55–68; 2 Macc. xii. 3 ff.). Indeed no Jewish community in outlying districts could have regarded itself as free from danger till "the yoke of the heathen was broken" in Palestine in 141 B.C.

From 168 B.C., the year in which Antiochus made the Jewish religion illegal, to 141 B.C. the Jewish Scriptures, at least outside Judæa, were in danger of being profaned by the heathen; but inasmuch as after December 165 the worship of Jehovah, so far as the Government was concerned, was a *religio licita*, and (though Menelaus continued for some time longer to hold the high priesthood) the Temple was in the charge of "blameless priests such as had pleasure in the law" (1 Macc. iv. 42), it is probable that in the Temple itself, and indeed in Judæa, the Scriptures were in general safe from profanation.

This brings us to the question, Were the canonical psalms originally intended for use in the Temple? That

[1] This is the commonly accepted date. Mr E. R. Bevan has, however, shewn that there are good reasons for dating the rededication of the Temple in 164. See *House of Seleucus*, vol. II. p. 299.

before 200 B.C. there was a regular service of praise in the Temple is clear from Ecclus. xlvii. 9, and in time past it has sometimes been assumed that the canonical psalms were habitually sung there; nevertheless a critical study of the Psalter shews that, at least in the case of many psalms, this is extremely unlikely. In the first two collections of psalms (book I and books II and III) in particular there are not only many psalms of which it will be agreed that they exhibit no peculiar suitability to the Temple worship, but some which it is hard to believe any one could have written if he had felt towards the Temple ritual as John Keble, for example, felt towards Anglican services.[1]

Thus surely no one could ever have originally written with a view to their liturgical use in the Temple such words as these, "O my God, I cry in the day time but thou answerest not" (xxii. 2); or "Sacrifice and offering thou hast no delight in" (xl. 6); or "I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he-goat out of thy folds. . . . Will I eat the flesh of bulls or drink the blood of goats?" (l. 9, 13); or "Thou delightest not in sacrifice that I should give it: thou hast no pleasure in burnt offering" (li. 16); or "I will praise the name of God with a song, and will magnify him with thanksgiving, and it shall please the LORD better than an ox *or* a bullock that hath horns and hoofs" (lxix. 31); or "They have set thy sanctuary on fire; they have profaned the dwelling place of thy name even to the ground" (lxxiv. 7); or "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy Temple have they defiled" (lxxix).

[1] It is scarcely necessary to discuss here whether the first person singular in the psalms is the expression of an individual or of the community. In some psalms it is clearly the individual who speaks. But every modern hymn-book intended for congregational use contains compositions which were originally the expression of the personal experiences of some individual poets, and which have been adopted in public worship, because the experience and the faith of their authors are shared by many other Christians.

It is indeed scarcely probable that utterances such as those quoted above could ever have become part of the worship of the Temple, unless they had previously been used in united worship elsewhere. In fact some of them are too far removed in sentiment from the ritual of the Temple ever to have found a place there at all, unless those who from time to time came to worship at the Temple had already associated them with some form of public religious service; in other words they must have formed part of the worship at the synagogues before they were accepted at the Temple.

It is impossible to assign any definite origin to synagogues; indeed the germ of them may be said to have existed before the Babylonian Exile. Thus we find the prophet Amos preaching at, or in the immediate neighbourhood of, the sanctuary of Bethel; Jeremiah at the high place of the Topheth and in the court of the Temple (Jer. xix. 14): and not only did the prophets go where they could find an audience, but those who desired to consult them sought them out (2 Kings iv. 23; cf. Ezek. viii. 1, xiv. 1). It is clear that in an age when the great majority of the people could not read or write, those who felt that they had a message to deliver could not have remained altogether inarticulate, but must have taken some steps to make it known. This informal teaching, however, might never have given rise to any permanent organisation, if it had not been for the introduction of the law of the one sanctuary. We may well suppose that in the sixth century B.C. there were more or less definitely organised meetings for the purpose of making people acquainted with the provision of the Deuteronomic law and exhortations. It is otherwise difficult to understand how the book of Deuteronomy could ever have been made known. In any case in the following century, after the publication of the whole law in the time of Nehemiah, it must have been necessary to provide for the systematic instruction of

the people in it. And since some of the narratives contained in the historical books have evidently been selected with a view to illustrate certain laws of the Pentateuch,[1] we may well suppose that such narratives would sometimes be read after the law which they illustrated. Doubtless it was a very long time before anything was stereotyped, or before there was anything approaching uniformity at the meetings held for the purpose of religious instruction; but the germ of what was not definitely fixed till much later may well have existed before the end of the fifth century B.C., e.g. the reading of a passage from the Prophets after one from the Law. Moreover, at any meeting for the study of the Law there must surely have been some invocation of the Divine Spirit, and some appeal for divine help; and in all worship, however great may be the desire to avoid conventionality, there is always a tendency for practice and forms of prayer to become more or less stereotyped. We may claim synagogues as a Jewish institution certainly as early as the second century B.C., and in all probability very much earlier. No doubt it was only very slowly and gradually that synagogue ritual and practice became definitely fixed. As late as New Testament times the ἀρχισυνάγωγος appears to have had a fairly free hand: nevertheless the New Testament affords evidence that by the first century of the Christian era exposition of the Hebrew Scriptures in the Aramaic vernacular was rapidly becoming, if it had not already become, to a certain extent stereotyped. Already the Chronicler had quoted a "commentary" (מדרש) of the book of the Kings composed in Hebrew (2 Chron. xxiv. 27; cf. xiii. 22); and S. Paul in his use of the Old Testament sometimes presupposes a knowledge of the interpretation which we find in the Targum; compare, for example, 1 Cor. x. 4 with Targum Onkelos on

[1] Joshua vii or 1 Samuel xv would serve as a suitable illustration of the law in Deut. xiii. 12 ff.

Num. xxi. 17–19, and Ephes. iv. 8 with the Targum on Ps. lxviii. 18.[1]

But if as early as the first century of the Christian era the rendering of the Scriptures in Aramaic was to some extent fixed, we may be pretty certain that quite as early, if not considerably earlier, synagogue devotion would have produced a religious language—phrases which, because they appealed to the hearts of men and elicited from them a response, were remembered and were used again and again. In modern Christian worship even among such religious bodies as make a point of avoiding fixed liturgical forms, there is a tendency to weave into extemporaneous prayer forms of speech which would not be used in connexion with

[1] In this connexion it may be well to deal with an argument which has been urged against the dating of any of the psalms in the Maccabæan age. Of what use, it is asked, would it have been to compose psalms in *Hebrew* if it was already necessary to provide an Aramaic translation of the older Scriptures? This argument, however, ignores not only the fact that works intended for religious edification undoubtedly were written in an age when Aramaic was the vernacular (e.g. the Hebrew portions of the book of Daniel), but also the strength of religious conservatism. Jewish patriotism and Jewish religion were inseparably connected; and Nehemiah had been as indignant with those who spoke a hybrid tongue, as with those who did not endeavour to keep Jewish blood pure. That there were people who could write good Hebrew long after the time of Nehemiah is certain, for not only was Ecclesiasticus written in Hebrew, but also, later, parts of Daniel, and, still later, 1 Maccabees. Moreover there are many people who can fairly well make out the sense of the language which they are accustomed to hear in public worship, though they would be incapable of composition in such a language. The Chronicler could understand the Hebrew of Samuel and Kings, though his own Hebrew is very inferior. When a language has ceased to be the vernacular, however, and is preserved only from religious motives or as a literary medium, it is impossible to maintain that a good correct style must necessarily be early and an incorrect style late. Milton's Latin bears a much greater resemblance to the classical language than that of, say, the Venerable Bede. It is noteworthy that the difference between late and early Hebrew is more marked in prose than in poetry, since the exigencies of poetical structure prevented any great departure from earlier models in matters of syntax, though the *vocabulary* of the later compositions differs considerably from the earlier.

secular matters, but which have become part of what is regarded as the normal mode of expression in matters of religion. It cannot be doubted therefore, especially in view of the fact that the primary purpose of synagogues was that the Scriptures might be made known, that in the earliest germ of synagogues there was some kind of liturgical language. Moreover those who had heard the Levitical choirs singing in the Temple would be certain to weave into their synagogue devotions reminiscences of the Temple days. That the Psalter implies the existence of a religious phraseology is obvious; and if the antiquity here claimed for synagogues be conceded, we shall find no difficulty in ascribing the composition of the psalms to those who were familiar with synagogue worship.[1]

[1] This, however, must not be understood as implying that phrases used in the psalms first originated in synagogue worship, for doubtless many of these phrases were centuries old when synagogues first arose. We find in the Hebrew psalms parallels to similar Babylonian and Egyptian compositions, but there is no necessity to postulate direct influence of the one upon the other. Those who live under despotic rule, whether political or domestic, naturally develop a somewhat cringing mode of speech in their intercourse with those who have them wholly in their power; and the language which they address to a deity whose favour seems to be withdrawn from them will not greatly differ from the language which in similar circumstances they address to a king. The prophets who invoked the Canaanite Baal (1 Kings xviii. 26) could probably have used the opening words of Ps. xxii. 2 with very slight modification. It is not improbable that if we possessed hymns to Baal we should find it possible to compose from them by way of *cento* what would be regarded as a quite appropriate anthem for a modern Christian harvest festival. Those who howled and behaved as mourners because of the withholding from them of the corn and wine (Hosea vii. 14) in times of plenty probably sang the praises of the Baal whom they regarded as the giver of plenty (Hosea ii. 8–12) in language not greatly unlike that of Ps. lxv. 9–13. The words of Shimei to David (2 Sam. xix. 19 f.) bear a strong resemblance to those which some of the psalmists address to Jehovah. The *Kyrie eleison* of Christian liturgical worship is a natural mode of address in the mouth of beggars (S. Matt. xx. 30). That which differentiates the Hebrew psalms as a whole from pagan compositions which bear a certain external resemblance to them is the monotheism and the higher theology of the Hebrew poets as well as the fact that to their way of thinking religion cannot be divorced from morality.

We may well suppose that at the meetings for the study of the Scriptures in early days, the giving of exposition and exhortation was not limited to an official minister, but that, as at Antioch of Pisidia (Acts xiii. 15; cf. S. Luke iv. 16 ff.), anyone might be invited to speak, if it were thought likely that he would provide edification for the rest; and if this were so, anyone who had a psalm, a teaching, a revelation or an interpretation, as in the church at Corinth (1 Cor. xiv. 26), would come prepared to impart it to the congregation. In some such way the recital and subsequently the singing of psalms would doubtless become part of synagogue worship, especially if, as is probable, hymns in praise of Jehovah or Baal had from ancient times been sung in connexion with the sacrificial worship at the Temple and other sanctuaries.

If then we are prepared to see in the earlier collections of psalms compilations intended for the synagogue rather than for the Temple, we shall steer clear of a rock on which some theories of the growth of the Psalter (e.g. Robertson Smith's) are wrecked. If book 1 had been in the main a Temple hymn-book, and the Temple authorities added to it at a later date further psalms which they deemed it necessary to subject to an Elohistic recension, it also must have been subjected to a like recension. The difference in this respect between the first and second collections of psalms cannot be explained on the supposition of difference of date; it is, however, explicable on the assumption that the two collections were made in different localities. In Judæa proper—a very small district, be it remembered, in the early days of the Maccabæan struggle—from December 165 B.C. onwards the worship of Jehovah was a *religio licita*; but for a considerable number of years after this date the Jews who continued to dwell in the district beyond Jordan, in Galilee, the Philistine Plain, Idumæa and Ammon were exposed to persecution, and in many

cases their bitterest enemies were apostate Jews. In Judæa proper therefore after 165 B.C., though synagogues might suffer in the course of the war, there was little danger that the Scriptures contained in the synagogues would be wilfully destroyed, defaced or mutilated; outside Judæa, however, the devout Jews had only too good reason to know that those among whom they were living would seize the first opportunity of profaning what to the Jews was sacred. Accordingly the *Tetragrammaton*, which as far as pronunciation was concerned was already forbidden even to the Jews, was now avoided in writing. It might have been expected that אדני would have taken its place; but whereas the use of אדני was limited to the God of Israel, אלהים was a common noun, and could be applied to the gods of the heathen. Whether in those psalms which have been subjected to an *Elohistic* recension אלהים was *originally* pronounced as such, or whether אדני was substituted for it in pronunciation cannot be determined.

Further evidence for the supposition that the second collection of psalms was not made in the same locality as the first is the inclusion in it of Ps. liii (which was originally identical with xiv) and of lxx (which was identical with xl. 13–17). That the locality in which it was made was not Judæa is rendered almost certain, since it contains laments of inability to attend the Temple services (e.g. Ps. xlii–xliii). But if the Elohistic recension of the second collection (books II and III) is to be explained not on the supposition of its having been compiled *after* the first collection, but *in a different locality*, the argument for the priority of book I based on its free use of the proper name of the God of Israel is done away, and, in order to discover its date, we are thrown back on the internal evidence of the psalms included in it.

§ III

To an unbiased reader the historical situation implied by the psalms contained in book I—leaving out of account Pss. i and ii which appear to have been prefixed to the whole Psalter—bears a strong resemblance to that which is implied by the psalms contained in books II and III. No doubt, history repeats itself; but it is surely difficult to believe that there were *after the Exile* two periods—the one fully known to us, the other quite unknown—which called forth from godly Jews similar complaints of persecution at the hand of heathen and of apostate Jews, similar expressions of despondency, and similar references to a victory over the heathen won by Jehovah, and to a peace after strife. The psalms have become to such an extent part and parcel of Christian worship, Israel has so constantly been understood as a type of the Church, and Israel's opponents as types of spiritual enemies, that we are apt to overlook the numerous passages, which could not have been originally composed for general worship, but must have been called forth by some special occasion.

On the supposition that the Psalter as a whole was composed during the period 168–141 B.C. and that the events of that period are reflected in it, we may pass on to consider what may be learnt from the psalms themselves. The arrangement of the psalms within the various groups has no reference to chronological order any more than the arrangement of the prophetic utterances, but like the latter is to a great extent based on certain catchwords. Moreover it is to be noted that many of the psalms have manifestly received somewhat later additions due in some cases to the desire, which is very noticeable in the prophetical books, to avoid concluding with words of woe.

Having in mind therefore the events of the period 168–165 B.C. we may proceed briefly to consider the

psalms against this historical background. It will be remembered that at the beginning of the period came a time of apparent hopelessness, when the Temple with the acquiescence of the acting, though illegitimate, high priest Menelaus was profaned and dedicated to the worship of Olympian Zeus, when persecution and torture were being applied to induce the Jews to apostatise, and when many of those who had escaped massacre were fugitives from their homes—the time which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews had in mind, when he wrote (xi. 35 ff.).

Others were tortured, not accepting their deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection: and others had trial of mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword: they went about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, evil entreated (of whom the world was not worthy), wandering in deserts and mountains and caverns and the holes of the earth.

Are not the words of Ps. xxii. 1–21[1] (cf. Ps. vi) entirely suitable to the situation of confessors and martyrs such as those whose story is told in 2 Macc. vi, vii? The resemblance to the "Servant" passages in Isaiah, particularly Isaiah xlix. 1–9, l. 4–9, lii. 13–liii, which on independent grounds have been assigned to the Maccabæan age,[2] will be apparent to every one. Verses 22–31 are an addition made in the days of victory and peace.

Leaving for the present Pss. i and ii, which appear to have been prefixed to the whole Psalter, we may now go back and consider the psalms in order. The significance of **Psalm iii** will at once be manifest, if it be read immediately after the account in 1 Macc. ii. 29 ff. When

[1] It is *possible*, though the argument must not be pressed, that in the "bulls of Bashan" (*v.* 12) there is a political reference. In Zech. xi. 2 Bashan appears as a stronghold of the Seleucid government.

[2] See Kennett, *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah* and *The Servant of the Lord*.

a few fugitives in the wilderness contrived on the sabbath day to meet together for prayer and meditation on the Scriptures, could anything more aptly describe the situation of those who composed such a "church in the wilderness" than these words: "Lord, how are mine adversaries increased! Many are they that rise up against me. Many there be which say of my soul, There is no help for him in his god".[1]

Psalm iv, some clauses of which are obscure, probably through corruption of the text, is also suitable in the days of the Maccabæan struggle, but was composed when things were not at their darkest, and when the sacrificial worship of the Temple had been restored.

In **Psalm v** the critical reader will at once notice the phrase, unused in early Hebrew, "my King and my God". How significant is such a phrase as addressed to Jehovah, if it was uttered in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, who claimed to be both *king* and *god*! Verses 4 ff. express the conviction of one who could not believe that Jehovah could continue to tolerate such a wretch as Menelaus. Those who are denounced in *vv.* 9 f. are evidently not heathen Gentiles, but wicked Jews who plot against their pious brethren.

Psalm vi is also the utterance of one who is in danger from his own ungodly countrymen.

Psalm vii, of which in parts the text and consequently the precise meaning is uncertain, is clearly the protest of one, against whom, as against the high priest Oniah some years before (2 Macc. iii. 4 ff., iv. 1 f.), some charge has been trumped up. It is to be noted that the psalmist has in view not only the wicked (*v.* 9), who are probably wicked Jews, but also non-Jewish peoples (*vv.* 7, 8). The situation here indicated corresponds with what must have been the condition of things in Judæa not only between 168 and 165 B.C., but for a good many

[1] Reading with the LXX באלהיו. אלהים in a non-Elohistic psalm is unlikely. The taunt is by one who does not profess the religion of Jehovah.

years afterwards. We may be pretty sure that even when Lysias had made terms with the Maccabees, and had consented to allow the worship of Jehovah, many of the apostate Jews must have plotted against those whom they hated for their resistance to Antiochus' decree.

Psalm viii is in the main a hymn of praise to Jehovah, the Creator and Lord of the Universe, composed by one who has drunk in the teaching of the account of creation in Gen. i. There are some obscurities due perhaps to corruption in the text, but one phrase affords evidence of a recent time of persecution. Jehovah has founded—or perhaps foreordained (יסדת, cf. Esther i. 8; Ezra vii. 9)—strength, to put a stop to the enemy and the avenger. Jehovah is the true "Master" (אדון) of Israel; compare the description of Jehovah as "King" (Ps. v. 2).

Psalms ix and **x** apparently formed originally one alphabetical psalm; but the alphabetical arrangement, which is not complete in the earlier part of Ps. ix, ends in this psalm at *v.* 18, and does not reappear till Ps. x. 12. It is impossible to trace exactly the literary history of this psalm. Probably in its present form it is the work of one who combined extracts from two distinct compositions, one of which was alphabetical. The situation implied in the psalm as it stands is similar to that which is indicated in Ps. vii.

Psalms xi–xiv imply a similar situation. It is evident that the wicked, here referred to, are mainly at least, apostate Jews (cf. xiv. 4).

Psalm xv would seem to have been composed in or shortly after December 165 B.C. The Temple has been recovered, and the thoughts of loyal Jews are now occupied with its future. Who is to have the custody of it? Not such people as Jason or Menelaus, notorious for their unscrupulousness in slander and for their avarice (cf. 2 Macc. iii. 1–11, iv. 1 ff., 32), but those

who are loyal to the religion of Jehovah (cf. 1 Macc. iv. 42).

Psalm xvi, with its repudiation of apostasy and of heathen sacrifices, and with its expression of hope that Jehovah will not abandon his servants to death, belongs perhaps to about the same time, or, more probably, is somewhat later. The refusal of the godly to apostatise has now been vindicated. There is now no fear of violent death (*v.* 10), and the psalmist in his newly found peace and prosperity compares himself to one who at the periodic allotment of the land belonging to the village community has received a fertile plot.

Psalm xvii implies a situation similar to that of Pss. xi–xiv.

Psalm xviii is a poem, composed apparently about 141 B.C. when virtual independence had been won for the Jews, by one whose mind was steeped in the old Scriptures. The psalmist has been through deep waters, and his enemies, who are not exclusively Gentiles, have brought him into peril of death. But Jehovah, who seemed to have withdrawn from His people, has come to their aid on His cherub-supported throne—the imagery is borrowed from Ezekiel. His full glory was not all at once revealed: clouds and darkness were round about Him (*vv.* 9–11). At His first intervention it seemed for a while as though the whole world had been shaken to destruction (*v.* 7; cf. the imagery of Haggai ii. 6, 21); but after a while Jehovah's might was manifested, and He discomfited the adversaries of His people (*vv.* 13 f.; cf. 1 Sam. vii. 10), extricating His people from the depths into which they had been plunged (for the figure cf. Jonah ii. 3; Ps. xlii. 7; 1 Macc. vi. 11). Moreover, in doing this, Jehovah has but vindicated the right: since those who were persecuted have throughout been loyal to Him. And now (*v.* 25) Jehovah has given an answer to those who have charged Him with arbitrariness and injustice. With the

kindly He shews Himself to be kindly, and with the sincere He proves His sincerity; while on the other hand with the perverse He shews what in their eyes appears to be perversity. Henceforth godly Jews have nothing to fear; for Jehovah has given them an earnest of further victory. Apostate Jews will now discover their error: when they appeal to Jehovah He will not hear them (*v.* 41). They will share the fate of the heathen foreign oppressors, who will come cringing out of their strongholds (perhaps an allusion to the surrender of the citadel at Jerusalem in May 141 B.C.). The non-Jewish Palestinian people (עַמִּים) are now subject to the Jews. Complete independence is at hand, and it is hoped that the kingdom of David will be restored. This last expectation which appears again in **Psalms xx** and **xxi** will be considered later in connexion with Pss. lxxxix, cxxii and cxxxii.

Psalm xxiii at first sight appears suitable to any time of peace; but closer study shews that it is *peace after tribulation*, when there is need of a time of refreshing. Jehovah is indeed vindicating His name which has been dishonoured among the heathen, and so directs the course of His servants' lives as to make it clear that in His sight they are not guilty; He leads them in paths of "righteousness" (ינחני במעגלי צדק למען שמו). The psalmist and those who are associated with him still have adversaries, but Jehovah has given them prosperity which the latter see but cannot obtain for themselves (*v.* 5). The last verse suggests the possibility that the poet is one of those "blameless priests" whom Judas Maccabæus brought back to the Temple in 165 B.C.

In **Psalm xxiv**, the author of which seems to have made use of another poem (*vv.* 1–6) very similar to Ps. xv and composed at about the same time, we have a hymn or anthem, every word of which is absolutely suitable to a definite date in the Maccabæan period. In order to understand the Jewish literature of this period it must

be borne in mind that the full title, as stamped on his coins, of the king whom we generally speak of as Antiochus Epiphanes was Ἀντίοχος Θεὸς ἐπιφανής, *Antiochus God Manifest.* This claim of divinity, though not uncommon among the kings of antiquity, was to the Jew the most appalling blasphemy. The Jew himself was so thoroughgoing a monotheist, that *official* godhead was to him unthinkable. If a man claimed to be god, he must, so the Jew argued, claim to be the Creator of heaven and earth, and the only Being to whom prayer could be offered. Hence in the Apocalypse of Daniel vii the "little horn"—which represents Antiochus Epiphanes—has a mouth speaking great things against the Most High: hence also in the story of Daniel vi, Darius, who represents Antiochus, issues an edict that whoever prays to any god or man other than the king shall be thrown to the lions. Keeping in mind this claim of Antiochus and the way in which a Jew would understand it, we can see at once the meaning of the great emphasis (to which the English versions do not do justice) laid on the fact that it is *Jehovah* Who is the Creator (ליהוה הארץ ומלואה תבל וישבי בה כי הוא וגו׳). It is not difficult to imagine the mind of that exultant crowd who on December 25, 165 B.C., went up to the summit of Zion to the rededication of the Temple. Antiochus who, three years previously, desecrated Jehovah's Temple and set up in it an image of Olympian Zeus "which probably displayed the features of Antiochus himself" (E. R. Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, p. 82), is now dead, and his claim of godhead is disproved alike by his death and by his failure to keep from Jehovah His house. And now that the Temple has been regained, who is to have the custody of it? "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? And who shall stand in His holy place?" Men such as Jason or the even worse usurper and apostate Menelaus? A thousand times, no: but "he that has

clean hands and a pure heart; who has had no hankerings after idolatry, and has not foresworn himself". People to whom such a description would apply—the "blameless priests", for example, whom Judas Maccabæus had chosen to purify the Temple, and the *Ḥasîdîm* (the *Hasidæans*, cf. 1 Macc. ii. 42 R.V.), who had suffered for freedom to worship God—shall henceforth be accounted blessed of the Lord Jehovah and vindicated by Him: "he shall receive a blessing from Jehovah and 'righteousness'[1] from the God Who has given him victory over his enemies". They are not all Israel who are of Israel; for the faithful only constitute the true generation of Jehovah's people: "this is the generation of them that seek after Him, that seek after thy face O God of Jacob".[2]

At this point the poetical structure of the psalm changes. It may be that the poet who himself composed the words which follow adapted the foregoing verses from another psalm. We shall the better understand the concluding portion of the psalm if we picture to ourselves the assemblage of Jews at the moment when they have arrived at the entrance to the Temple court where sacrifice is again to be offered to Jehovah. Jehovah is indeed returning to His own, but evidence still remains that the heathen have come into His Temple. Where, until three years ago, there were stately gatehouses, now there are yawning gaps; for the gatehouses with their gates have been destroyed (see 1 Macc. iv. 38; 2 Macc. viii. 33). But the psalmist makes a virtue of necessity and represents that which might have damped the spirits of the assemblage as a way of more effectively honouring Jehovah at His return to His

[1] I.e. the status of a man who has won his case in a court of law. It is noteworthy that צדקה in this passage, as in many others, exactly corresponds with δικαιοσύνη as used by St Paul, e.g. in Rom. i. 17.

[2] The Hebrew text is probably not quite correct, though the sense is clear. פניך "thy face" is probably a primitive error for אלהי (cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 1; Ps. xx. 1) or אביר (cf. Gen. xlix. 24).

house. It would be, the psalmist feels, beneath the dignity of Jehovah, now that He is returning to His Temple with the added glory of His recent victory over the heathen, that He should, so to speak, stoop to enter through the gates that once were there. Accordingly the psalmist boldly apostrophises the ancient entrances, the former gates of which no longer exist, and bids them lift up—or lift *off* (cf. Gen. xl. 19 f.)—their heads, that the King of Glory may come in.

But the title "King of Glory" which is by right Jehovah's, has been virtually claimed by Antiochus. The question then "Who is the King of Glory?" must be asked and answered. It is most important to notice the emphatic form of the interrogative pronoun—"*Who* (מי זה) is the King of Glory?" repeated in a yet more emphatic form in *v.* 10—"Who (מי הוא זה) is the King of Glory?" Now is the time for Israel to decide between Jehovah and Antiochus. We can with our minds' ears hear the response, at once a confession of faith and a shout of triumph, "Jehovah strong and mighty, Jehovah mighty in battle".[1] Once again comes the reminder that the King of Glory is returning to His Temple, and accordingly once again, this time more insistent, comes the challenge to decide who has a right to the title. Surely even the most phlegmatic of us must in spirit join in the mighty shout "Jehovah of Hosts, *He* is the King of Glory".

Psalms xxv and **xxvi** imply a situation similar to that of Pss. xi–xiv.

Psalm xxvii of which the latter portion (*vv.* 7–14) implies a situation of rather greater distress than the earlier (*vv.* 1–6), apparently belongs to a time a little later than that of Ps. xxiv, when, though the Temple has been recovered by the Maccabees, the war is still

[1] Such a description would not naturally be used in post-exilic times before the Maccabæan period, nor indeed for a very long time before the Exile.

going on. It is not improbable that the two portions of the psalm were not composed at quite the same time.

Psalm xxviii. 1–5 which is likewise spoken out of tribulation, belongs to about the same time (*v.* 2 implies that it is the worship of Jehovah which is going on in the Temple). Appended to it is a somewhat later addition (*vv.* 6–9) when success has to some extent come, and it is anticipated that Jehovah will give victory to His anointed. In view of Ps. lxxxix. 20–38, Ps. cxxxii. 10, it is natural to understand by Jehovah's "anointed" an anointed king, though it has been interpreted as meaning Israel, Jehovah's anointed servant.

Psalm xxix, with its apostrophe to the gods (בני אלים; cf. Ps. lxxxix. 6) to give glory to Jehovah (cf. Ps. xcvii. 7), at first sight seems to be a hymn of praise to Jehovah, Who manifests Himself in the forces of nature. It is, however, not improbable that the reference to Jehovah's thunder is to be understood, as in Ps. xviii. 13 (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 10), of Jehovah's discomfiture of His enemies. This at least is implied by the concluding verses 10 and 11.

Psalm xxx belongs to a time when the worst distress is over, but the memory of it is still fresh.

Psalm xxxi with its alternation of supplication and praise—perhaps not all composed at one time, though the apparent lack of agreement between its various parts, may well be the result of a combination of quotations from a number of religious poems—is suitable to the same period. The word rendered "saints" (*v.* 23 R.V.) though the coincidence may be accidental, suggests that the psalmist is addressing himself to the *Ḥasîdîm*. The same word in the singular is used in Ps. xxxii. 6.

Psalm xxxii is the utterance of one who has come through great tribulation—tribulation which according to the Hebrew ideas implies "sin", i.e. the withdrawal of Jehovah's favour (cf. Ps. xl. 12 ff. where the "innumerable evils" which have compassed the psalmist

about, and which are due to his enemies, are regarded as shewing "his" iniquities).

Psalm xxxiii describes how Jehovah, Who has shewn His power in nature, has brought to nought the plans of the nations who are evidently contrasted with Israel (*v.* 12). Verses 16 and 17 imply the failure of the military power of non-Jewish nations, and *vv.* 18, 21 make it clear that Israel has been brought through danger and famine into victory. The psalm is in all parts suitable to the days of the Maccabæan success.

Psalm xxxiv belongs to much the same time. It is clearly composed in a time of peace, and it points the moral of past experience which has proved that trust in Jehovah is the best way.

Psalms xxxv and **xxxvi** suggest a time comparatively early in the Maccabæan struggle. It is evident that the Psalmist's enemies are wicked Jews.

Psalm xxxvii is a reiteration of the Jewish doctrine of retribution, and would seem to have been composed when the tribulation which had caused this doctrine to be questioned was not yet at an end. It is instructive to compare this psalm with the calm *doctrinaire* attitude of Ben Sira (see especially Ecclus. xi. 25–28, xxvii. 25–29).

Psalm xxxviii is the cry of one who in his sore affliction feels himself to be under the Divine displeasure (cf. Isaiah liii. 4–6). His enemies are obviously his own countrymen (cf. Micah vii. 5 f.). We know of no period after the exile when there was this violent antagonism between Jews and Jews, except the time of the conflict between Hellenism and Judaism which first became acute in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. 1 Macc. i. 52 f.). Mal. iii. 5, which predicts the punishment of the irreligious, does not suggest that the godly are being persecuted as such.

Psalm xxxix resembles Ps. xxxvii; only, whereas the latter is didactic, Ps. xxxix is the meditation of one who is struggling against his doubts. He does not impugn

the divine justice (*v.* 9) but prays that relief may come to him before he dies (cf. Ecclus. xi. 25–28).

Psalm xl in its present form is almost certainly not homogeneous. The opening verses, 1–5, which were evidently composed when deliverance and peace had come, have probably been substituted for a cry of distress with which the psalm originally began. The thought of *v.* 6 is similar to that of Ps. l. 8 ff. and Ps. li. 16 f., and is so far removed from the ordinary sentiment of the post-exilic period (cf. Joel i. 13, ii. 14; Mal. i. 6–14) that at first sight one is inclined to assign it to a pre-exilic date. On the other hand, not only does the phraseology in general agree with that of the psalms, but the enumeration of the various kinds of sacrifice suggests a date later than the publication of the Priestly Code; so also the reference to the "great congregation". The apparent disparagement of sacrifice however, which is doubtless *based* on the teaching of the great pre-exilic prophets, is perfectly explicable in the mouth of those who are prevented from taking part in the prescribed ritual of the Temple. In post-exilic times the Jews (apart from the Essenes) did not trouble themselves about the origin or *rationale* of sacrifice, but accepted it as an ordinance of God, and regarded it as a sacramental means of receiving the Divine forgiveness and benediction. When therefore the desecration of the Temple in 168 B.C. deprived them of this sacrament, the question must have been asked "Can a man expect to receive the divine grace, when he does not carry out the divine commands about sacrifice? Is it possible to receive remission of sin, if a sin-offering is not presented at the altar and the prescribed ritual for the Day of Atonement cannot be carried out?" It was doubtless in consequence of such genuine perplexity and distress of mind that Oniah, who evidently had a considerable following among Jewish adherents of the law, obtained permission from Ptolemy to build a Jewish Temple at Leontopolis

(Josephus, *Ant.* XIII. 3; *Wars* I. 1, VII. 10); arguing perhaps that it was less a departure from the law to build a temple with an altar outside one of the tribes of Israel, than altogether to dispense with an altar. This reasoning, however, was controverted by others, who appealed to the teaching of the pre-exilic prophets, and applied it to the conditions of their own time (compare also Isaiah lxvi. 1 ff.; Pss. l. 5–15, li. 16 f.). Jehovah does not need a house, since heaven is His throne and earth His footstool, and He dwells with everyone that is poor and of a contrite spirit who trembles at His word. He does not need sacrifice, since all cattle are His by virtue of creation, and He neither eats bulls' flesh nor drinks the blood of goats.

Psalm xli implies the same sort of situation as Ps. xxxviii. The doxology in *v.* 13 is to be ascribed to the editor who is responsible for the division of the Psalter into five books.

Psalm xlii–xliii (which must evidently be reckoned as one psalm), is clearly the composition of a Jew resident apparently in Galilee, who is unable to go to the Temple "to appear before God" (or as the old Hebrew phrase should properly be rendered "to see the face of God"; cf. Ex. xxxiv. 23; Isaiah i. 12). It is implied that the psalmist's inability to visit the Temple is due to the oppression of his enemies—a situation which finds illustration in 1 Macc. v. The psalmist is in a waterless country, i.e. a country devoid of the living water which according to Ezekiel's allegory (xlvii; cf. Jer. ii. 13) flows from the Temple; and as a hart which cannot find water lows in its thirst, so the psalmist cries to God for the sacrificial worship which is denied him.

Psalm xliv describes a time of religious persecution exactly similar to that which is indicated in Ps. xxii. The psalmist is perplexed because Jehovah seems to have deserted the army which is fighting for His religion. Apparently there has been a defeat of the Maccabees,

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such as is described in 1 Macc. ix. 1–18, 43–53. Note the words "Thou art my *King*, O God" (*v.* 4; cf. Ps. xxiv) and also the similarity of language between *v.* 22 *b* and Zech. xi. 4, 7. Note also the phrase "the enemy and the avenger" as in Ps. viii. 2. The protest in *v.* 20 is most significant, and should be contrasted with Ezekiel's view of the cause of Israel's sufferings (see e.g. Ezek. xx).

Psalm xlv on *any* theory of the composition of the Psalter cannot *originally* have been composed for general worship, but must refer to some definite historical event. It is addressed to a king, on the occasion of his marriage. It is significant that there is no hint of his being of the line of David, nor is he described as a king of Israel. A pre-exilic date is out of the question; since the king addressed, for whom a successful career is predicted (*v.* 3 f.), rules over a number of nations subdued in war, and his children are to be made princes in his domain (*v.* 16). Moreover, even the rich city of Tyre will endeavour to win his favour. In some respects indeed the psalm might be interpreted of Solomon: but there is nothing in the book of Kings to indicate that at the beginning of his reign a successful military career was anticipated for him. On the contrary, notwithstanding the later tendency to idealise Solomon's reign, it is clear that rebellions broke out almost immediately after David's death (1 Kings xi. 21 ff.) and the complaint made to Rehoboam at Shechem (1 Kings xii. 4) is abundantly justified by 1 Kings v. 13 ff. A later writer in 1 Kings ix. 20–22 has vainly attempted to clear Solomon of the charge of oppressing his Israelite subjects.

But though there is no king of Israel or Judah to whom this psalm is applicable, in the Maccabæan period we know of an event which will explain it, without doing violence to its language. The story of this has been admirably told by Mr E. R. Bevan (*Jerusalem under the High Priests*, pp. 101–103). It is sufficient to state here

that Alexander Balas, who claimed to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, but who was almost certainly an impostor, about the year 152 B.C. set himself up as king at Ptolemais in opposition to the lawful king Demetrius I. Alexander was supported by Ptolemy Philometor, the King of Pergamos and the King of Cappadocia. Jonathan shamelessly took advantage of the situation and was ready to sell himself and his adherents to the highest bidder. He first took the side of Demetrius, from whom he obtained permission to take up his position in Jerusalem and to maintain a military force. He then went over to the side of Alexander Balas, by whom as the reward of his treachery he was ennobled, and made high priest. This was in 152 B.C. Two years later Demetrius was defeated and killed by Alexander, and Jonathan deemed it desirable to ingratiate himself as far as possible with the winning side to which he had attached himself. Ptolemy who, needless to say, had designs on Palestine, was anxious to support Alexander as a puppet king. Accordingly "he bestowed on him his daughter Cleopatra, and celebrated her marriage at Ptolemais with great pomp as the manner of kings is". Immediately afterwards Jonathan, who had now become a power to be reckoned with was invited by Alexander to Ptolemais. "And he went with pomp to Ptolemais and met the two kings and gave them and their friends silver and gold and many gifts, and found favour in their sight" (1 Macc. x. 58 ff.).

There can be little doubt that Ps. xlv refers to a wedding, and in this wedding of Alexander Balas with Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor (see 1 Macc. x. 51 ff., Josephus *Ant.* XIII. 4) we can find, without straining the language, a natural explanation of all the details of the psalm. It is not improbable that it was composed in the hope that Jonathan would present it to the newly made bridegroom, to whom the poet addresses somewhat fulsome flattery. He begins his

ode with a statement that it is the utterance of a full heart, and since some forms of gratitude may be justly described as a lively sense of favours to come, this may possibly have been true. Alexander, who seems to have been a tolerably good looking person,[1] is declared by the psalmist to be the fairest of mankind (*v.* 2), and is of course represented as a recipient of permanent Divine blessing. He is exhorted to begin a victorious campaign for the sake of truth, meekness and righteousness (i.e. on behalf of the Hasmonæans who support him), and it is predicted that the peoples—by עַמִּים we are probably to understand *Palestinian* peoples such as the Philistines, some of whom supported Demetrius—will fall before him (*v.* 5). His throne will endure[2] for ever; he has loved righteousness and hated wickedness—i.e. he has shewn himself friendly to the Hasmonæans; and therefore he has been anointed by God not only with kingly unction but with the oil of joy. He lives in royal magnificence, enjoying the luxury of choice perfumes and the delights of music. Among the ladies of his court are kings' daughters—no small honour for this Hellenistic Perkin Warbeck—and at his right hand stands a consort (viz. Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor King of Egypt) in rich apparel. This lady, who as a matter of fact, had been forced into a terrible *mésalliance*, the poet now addresses, and exhorts her to forget her own people (Egypt) and her father's house. This is evidently a political touch; it would not suit the Jews that Palestine, though nominally subject to Alexander Balas should really be under the sway of Egypt.

[1] Mr E. R. Bevan speaks of him as a "handsome, genial youth of twenty-three" (*House of Seleucus*, vol. II. p. 212), but if his portrait is correctly given on his coin, *de gustibus non disputandum*.

[2] The suggestion that an original יהיה was misread יהוה and that the Elohistic redactor then substituted for it אלהים has much to recommend it. On the other hand the text as it stands can be interpreted in the light of the nearly contemporaneous passage Zech. xii. 8, as meaning "Thy rule shall be as the rule of God".

Alexander had been glad to purchase Jewish support by making concessions to the Hasmonæans. There was not much likelihood that the more powerful Ptolemy would think it expedient to make similar concessions. Forgetfulness of her old home, says the poet with consummate impudence, will endear the royal bride to her husband the king, who, as she must remember, is her master, towards whom moreover she must shew all humility. Then the population of Tyre ("the daughter of Tyre") will present gifts[1] and the richest of the Palestinian people will endeavour to propitiate her. In the most costly raiment and jewels, escorted by a goodly retinue of maids of honour, she will be brought to the king. As a result of this marriage the king will have, instead of his fathers—whom the poet wisely does not mention by name—sons whom he will appoint as rulers (שָׂרִים) in all the land. The poet goes on to declare that he intends so to celebrate the king's fame, that his name will be remembered to all generations, while the peoples over whom he reigns will eulogise him for ever.

If it should seem impossible that such flattery should ever have been addressed by a Hebrew poet to such a person as Alexander Balas, it may be well to recall that prophets in earlier days had said much the same sort of thing with reference to heathen rulers. Thus the polytheist Cyrus is called Jehovah's "anointed" (Isaiah xlv. 1), and Jehovah's "shepherd" who "shall perform all Jehovah's pleasure" (*ibid.* xliv. 28). Somewhat similarly Ezekiel (xxix. 17–20) says that Jehovah will give the land of Egypt to Nebuchadrezzar as compensation for the failure of his campaign against Tyre. It is true that in these passages we do not find addressed to Cyrus or Nebuchadrezzar such personal flattery as is addressed to the king in Ps. xlv; nevertheless they are on a lower level that Isaiah x. 5–15.

[1] Reading in accordance with a suggestion of Professor A. A. Bevan ובת צר תקריב מנחה.

The foregoing exposition of Ps. xlv has been written in full consciousness of the fact that the psalm has been regarded as Messianic, and has been made a vehicle of spiritual teaching. We are here concerned, however, not with the teaching to which it has been adapted, but with the meaning which it bore in the mind of its author and his contemporaries. The exalted religious teaching which is associated with a considerable number of passages in the Old Testament belongs not to their original authors but to later expositors; and it must be frankly admitted that such passages are not the best vehicle of spiritual teaching which could be devised, and that in all probability no one would ever have attempted to allegorise them or to give them a religious interpretation, if they had not been incorporated with the sacred scriptures. This fact is indeed generally recognised nowadays with regard to Canticles, and in spite of strong religious conservatism is becoming recognised with regard to other parts of the Old Testament.

It is good to turn from the time-serving utterance of a partisan of the unscrupulous Jonathan—Judaism almost at its worst—to the magnificent expression of faith in God alone which immediately follows.

Psalm xlvi is indeed an utterance worthy of those "of whom the world was not worthy". The composition of this psalm belongs apparently to the conclusion of the struggle about 141 B.C. Those who in the midst of many tribulations have been steadfast in their faith have seen their assurance vindicated, and they will remain steadfast even though similar tribulations befall them again. They have witnessed the shaking of the world—political upheaval is meant as in Haggai ii. 6 f., 20 f.—but they know that, as Isaiah taught (vii. 14, viii. 10), Jehovah[1] is on the side of His people, His sanctuary

[1] The presence of the name יהוה in this *Elohistic* psalm is doubtless due to an editor or scribe, who replaced the original name here when there was no longer reason to avoid writing it.

remains, and the river of living water which Ezekiel (xlvii) pictured as issuing thence will, without let or hindrance, make glad the whole city of God (cf. Zech. xiv. 1–9). The Gentile nations (גוים) have raged, and the kingdoms have tottered, but the city of God remains unshaken. Jehovah has given proof of His might, and He Who has given victory can put an end to war, and will abolish all military equipment (cf. Zech. ix. 9 f.; Isaiah ii. 4, ix. 5, xxxiii. 13–24).

Psalm xlvii belongs to the same period, viz. the time when Simon is ruler over all Palestine. The Palestinian peoples (עמים, including of course the Jews) are bidden to exult, since Jehovah has shewn that He is to be feared, and that He is a great king[1] over all the land. His people are now assured of peace, for He will subdue peoples[2] under them and Gentile nations under their feet. His people will receive as their allotted portion (נחלה) not what their enemies would give, but what He Himself selects for them. Now He is gone up (? into the Greek citadel the *akra*) with the shout of victory and with the sound of the trumpet (cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 51). He is now King over all the land, reigning even over the Gentiles (cf. Isaiah ix. 1, גליל הגוים). Now the nobles of the Palestinian peoples are associated with the God of Abraham (cf. Zech. ix. 7; Ps. lxxxvii. 4 ff.).

Psalm xlviii has the same historical background as the two preceding psalms. Jerusalem, it is declared, is now the city of the great King;[1] Who is worthy of the highest praise, and has manifested Himself as a stronghold.

[1] See on Ps. xxiv.

[2] עמים and גוים (*v.* 9) are probably to be distinguished as e.g. in Zech. xii. By the former we are to understand those Palestinian peoples, e.g. Edomites, etc. with whom in culture, if not in religion, the Jews felt some sort of affinity. The latter denotes those whom the Jews regarded as altogether alien, e.g. the Greeks, and may fairly be represented by "Gentiles".

The kings who were allied against Jehovah (Ptolemy Philometor and Demetrius II) have been unable to lord it over Jerusalem, and have departed in amazed discomfiture (cf. Isaiah xlix. 7, lii. 15). The mention of the breaking of the ships of Tarshish—which in view of the context cannot be understood of the destruction of a Jewish fleet, such as is described in 1 Kings xxii. 48 (cf. 2 Chron. xx. 35–37), and must refer to some loss suffered by a king opposed to the Jews—cannot be explained from any known event in the period of the Hebrew monarchy; for even if the language is not to be understood quite literally as meaning that the ships have been wrecked in a storm, we can scarcely understand it otherwise than as meaning that a naval power which threatened the Jews has been broken. Here also the history of the Maccabæan age suggests an explanation. About 147 B.C. Ptolemy Philometor, ostensibly acting in support of his son-in-law Alexander Balas, crossed into Palestine with an imposing army, while his fleet moved up along the coast. In each of the principal cities of the sea-board, as he went north, he dropped a garrison of his own. "At Azotus the inhabitants shewed him the appalling relics of the Jewish visitation—the blackened shrines and heaps of charred corpses" (E. R. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, vol. II. p. 219). Ptolemy did not immediately shew his hostility to the Hasmonæans, who were professedly fighting in the cause of Alexander Balas, but when the breach came between him and Alexander, the partisans of the latter might well have feared that they would suffer reprisals especially as Ptolemy continued to hold all the coast towns. On the death of Ptolemy however, in the early summer of 145 "the Ptolemaic forces in Syria were a helpless body without master or direction, and at the court of Demetrius now swayed by Lasthenes, the Cretan adventurer, it was resolved to destroy them before a new government was consolidated in Egypt.

A massacre of the Ptolemaic troops was ordered in the name of Demetrius, and the populations of the coast towns rose to annihilate their garrisons" (*ibid.* p. 222). The danger to the Jews from Egypt was at an end. Some two years later Simon "took strong action at Joppa. It was already held by a Jewish garrison; now the whole population was turned out neck and crop, and replaced by Jewish families. . . . It is significant that the place seized thus early is the gate which allows direct communication between Jerusalem and the lands overseas" (*Jerusalem under the High Priests*, pp. 107 f.).

There *may* have been some seizure and destruction of Egyptian ships after the death of Ptolemy Philometor, but the language of Ps. xlviii. 7 need not be understood literally. In Isaiah xxvii. 8—not far removed in time from Ps. xlviii—the east wind is clearly metaphorical,[1] and in this psalm may be a reminiscence of Ezek. xxvii. 26. In *v.* 8 there is presented to us a contrast with the earlier situation indicated, e.g. in Pss. xlii–xliii. *Then* it was impossible for loyal Jews living in Gilead or Galilee to visit the Temple. *Now* they have not only heard of the great things which Jehovah has done, but they can see their results in His own city, Jerusalem which He will uphold for ever; and in the Temple itself, from which they had been cut off, they can ponder on God's care for His people. God has now caused His name which was insulted to be honoured to the ends of the earth. Sion may well be glad, and the Judæan towns exult, because of His vindication of the right. Let the Jews now go about Sion and mark carefully the fortifications (cf. 1 Macc. iv. 60; cf. Isaiah xxxiii. 18–20) which protect Jehovah's house. They will then the

[1] It would be possible also to explain the mention of the ships from an event of somewhat earlier date, and to refer it to the destruction of Antiochus' fleet with the elephants ordered by the Roman Senate (*House of Seleucus*, vol. II. p. 186). Antiochus' fleet is mentioned in 2 Macc. iv. 20.

better understand the lesson which must be taught to the generations to come, viz. that it is Jehovah Who is Israel's God for ever and Who directs him.

Psalm xlix, of which the phraseology is in itself a proof of late date, draws a moral, which, though applicable to every age, was particularly so in the period of the Maccabæan success. The wealth of Jason and Menelaus, and of the powerful Jewish families such as those who are bidden to public penitence in Zech. xii. 10 ff., has availed them nothing. It is futile for them to imagine, as Isaiah xxviii. 15 puts it, that they can make a covenant with death and Sheol whereby they will be immune; for wise men and foolish alike must die and leave their wealth to others (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 4 ff.). But the psalmist and those who like him trust in Jehovah have no fear of an untimely end (*v.* 15), and in the light of what they have seen can be content to remain poor though others amass wealth.

Psalm l was evidently composed at a time when the worship of Jehovah was going on at the Temple (*v.* 2)—i.e. *not* between 168 and 165 B.C. The present state of things, however, is very different from that which is revealed in Mal. i. 12–14, when sacrifice was perfunctorily performed, and inferior victims were presented at the altar. *Now* it is necessary to remind the *godly* (חסידי) who by sacrifice have made a covenant with Jehovah that He does not require their sacrifices. Here then as in Ps. xl, we find an entirely new use made of the teaching of the pre-exilic prophets who, before any part of the law was accepted as canonical, had declared that Jehovah did not require it.

Verses 16–21 seem to be addressed to a definite person possibly Alcimus (cf. 1 Macc. vii. 21–25; 2 Macc. xiv. 3–10).

Psalm li is likewise the composition of one who is cut off from the Temple worship, and was written at a time when the walls of Jerusalem were still broken down

(cf. 1 Macc. i. 31), that is to say before the rebuilding by Simon (1 Macc. xiii. 10). Since the psalmist writes in the conviction that the tribulation which he suffers is proof that God regards him as a sinner,[1] and also makes it clear that his father and mother suffered like tribulation before his birth (*v.* 5), the psalm must be dated in the latest phase of the Maccabæan struggle. It is not in reality the outpouring of a *penitent* heart, though it has been so regarded by the Church. The psalmist, like Job, feels himself to be innocent of any offence against his fellow men (cf. Job xxix, xxxi), and there is not a hint that he has been guilty of any form of apostasy. The "sin" which he entreats Jehovah to remove is his apparent alienation from Jehovah evidenced by his suffering (cf. Job xiv. 16 f.). But he does not venture to impugn the justice of God. He is willing to admit that he has sinned against God—though in what respect he does not know—in order to justify God in inflicting the suffering which he, the psalmist, regards as a judicial sentence.

Verses 18–19 may be an appendix added somewhat later, but it is possible to interpret them as part of the original psalm. Jehovah has shewn that *at present* he does not demand sacrifice from those who, like the psalmist, are cut off from Jerusalem, but when the walls of Jerusalem are rebuilt, and all Palestine is freed from Gentile domination, *then* He will again delight in sacrifice.

Psalm lii bears a general resemblance to xlix and l. 16 ff.

Psalm liii is an Elohistic recension of xiv.

Psalm liv, to which *vv.* 6 and 7 appear to be an appendix added in the time of victory, resembles Pss. l and li in the historical situation implied in it.

[1] For this assumption that a person visited with calamity is thereby marked out as under the Divine displeasure compare the speeches of Job's friends' *passim*. This assumption has affected the *phraseology* of the whole of the Old Testament, even of those who, like Job, protest against it.

Psalm lv was composed at a time when, probably through fear of persecution, many had apostatised and joined the ranks of the persecutors (cf. Micah vii. 1–6).

Psalm lvi which also has a later appendix similarly refers to a time of strife and persecution.

Psalm lvii, notwithstanding the fact that it falls into two equal portions ending with the same refrain, is perhaps not homogeneous. Verses 7–11 reappear in Ps. cviii. 1–5, but we need not assume that the author of the latter borrowed directly from this psalm, for the authors of both may have borrowed from a source unknown to us, combining passages in a way made familiar by many modern anthems. It is not improbable that *v.* 5, which interrupts the connexion between *v.* 4 and *v.* 6, was inserted by the later editor. Verses 1–6 (exclusive of *v.* 5) apparently are homogeneous, and fall into two parts, after each of which comes the musical direction *Selah*.[1] This portion of the psalm, both in the situation which it implies and in the trust which it expresses resembles the preceding psalm. Verses 7–11 (with 5) are a later addition in the time of victory.

Psalm lviii also presupposes a time of persecution but, apparently, the vindication of the righteous is at hand.

Psalm lix similarly implies a time of distress in which "workers of iniquity" and "bloodthirsty men" are allied with the Gentiles (גוים, *v.* 5). Verse 11 is apparently suggested by such passages as Judges iii. 1–4. The note of praise with which the psalm concludes is probably a somewhat later modification.

Psalm lx is certainly composite. The opening verses 1–4—the text, and consequently the sense, of *v.* 4 is by no means certain—are entirely suitable to the worst period of distress during the Maccabæan struggle.

[1] *Selah* which should probably be pronounced *salle* is best interpreted as the attempt of a Hebrew bandmaster to pronounce the Greek ψάλλε. The LXX which renders διάψαλμα has doubtless preserved the sense which is intended. At the conclusion of each *strophe* there is an orchestral interlude.

The latter portion of the psalm (*vv.* 5–12)—which in a more correct form reappears in Ps. cviii. 7–13—itself seems to be made up of two or possibly more than two fragments. *If v.* 5 originally preceded *v.* 6 we should expect that it would have been preceded by some statement that the people have prayed for the victory subsequently described. Verses 6–8, with their reference to Jehovah's possession of Shechem, the valley of Succoth (i.e. the Jordan valley), Gilead, all Samaria (Manasseh and Ephraim), Moab, Edom and Philistia—Ephraim being Jehovah's helmet and Judah His sceptre—can be explained quite naturally from the history of the Maccabæan struggle. Already in 164–163 B.C. Edom, Moab (Jazer, 1 Macc. v. 8, cf. Isaiah xvi. 8 f.), Ammon, Gilead, Galilee and Philistia had experienced the vengeance of the Maccabees (1 Macc. v); and we are told (*ibid.* v. 66) that Judas advanced through Samaria. It was not, however, till the later days of the struggle that these districts became an integral part of what was regarded as Jehovah's territory, administered by His servants. In 148–147 B.C. Jonathan, acting for Alexander Balas, carried out a victorious campaign in Philistia, for which he was rewarded by having Ekron assigned to him as a private possession (cf. Zech. ix. 7). A little later (145), Jonathan having gone over to the side of Demetrius, "the Judæan territory was extended on the north by the addition of the three 'toparchies' or 'nomes' of Lydda, Aphaerema and Ramathaim which had hitherto belonged to Samaria". Ephraim thus became the "strength of Jehovah's head". Shortly afterwards (still in 145) Tryphon, in the name of Alexander Dionysus, made terms with Jonathan, whom he ennobled, and appointed his brother Simon military governor (*strategos*) of Palestine (1 Macc. xi. 59). Jonathan thereafter carried out campaigns for Alexander Dionysus at Gaza, in Galilee, and beyond the Jordan as far as Damascus

(1 Macc. xi. 60–63). Simon, meanwhile, "having compelled the Gentile garrison to withdraw from Beth-Sur"—which was then in Idumæan territory (1 Macc. iv. 29)—"replaced it by a Jewish one" (*House of Seleucus*, vol. II. p. 229).

In 141 B.C. Simon had become master of Palestine east and west, and only a shadow of the Seleucid suzerainty remained. It was thought that Simon, who as high priest could claim to be vicegerent of Jehovah, would now apportion Shechem among his partisans, and would measure out for distribution the valley of Succoth.[1] Gilead was his, and also northern Samaria (Manasseh). Southern Samaria had already been made part of Judæa.

The fragment *vv.* 9–12, which has probably been placed immediately after *v.* 8 because of its containing a reference to Edom,[2] apparently belongs to a somewhat earlier date, when the Maccabæan forces had experienced a set-back. It not improbably refers to the defeat of Judas at Beth-Zachariah, and to the surrender of Beth-Sur which followed it. The royal army had advanced against Beth-Sur through Idumæa.

Psalm lxi likewise belongs to two phases of the struggle. In *vv.* 1–4 the psalmist, who lives at a distance from Jerusalem is in danger from the enemy. The second half of the psalm dates from a period when success has come, and there is a prospect of the restoration of a Jewish monarchy.[3]

[1] The actual Jewish possession of Shechem was not, however, accomplished till later by John Hyrcanus about 129–128 B.C. (Josephus, *Ant.* XIII. 9).

[2] A similar method of arrangement is common in many parts of the Bible. A good example of it is found in Isaiah i where the section *vv.* 2–9 which describes the land as utterly ruined, is immediately followed by the section 10–17 which (cf. v. 11) represents the people as fairly well to do—the catchwords being *Sodom* and *Gommorah*. Cf. also St Mark ix. 42 ff., "cause to stumble" in different connexions—fire—fire,—salted—salt.

[3] The wording of *v.* 6—literally "Days to the days of *a* king, shalt thou add"—is very strange—and the text has perhaps suffered in transmission.

Psalm lxii implies a situation similar to that which is indicated in Ps. lv.

Psalm lxiii, like lxi. 1–4, is the utterance of one who dwells in a heathen district, "a dry and weary land where no water is"—the phrase having its origin in Ezekiel's description (chap. xlvii) of the stream of living water issuing from the Temple. Verse 11 if the text is correct, may be explained as a later addition; but the abrupt mention of the *king* is very strange, and the parallelism rather suggests the people.

Psalm lxiv belongs to the same period as lxii.

Psalm lxv belongs to the time of success. There is now a prospect that "all flesh" will come to worship Jehovah in Jerusalem (cf. Zech. xiv. 16 ff.; Isaiah ii. 2–4, lx, etc.); because the tumult of the peoples is stilled, the land east and west is at peace, and plenty is restored (cf. Ps. cxliv. 12–15).[1] Compare the description in 1 Macc. xiv. 4–14.

Psalm lxvi belongs to the same period. Jehovah's enemies have now submitted to Him. Israel is freed from its political disabilities, and Jews from all parts can come up to Jerusalem to worship. (With *v.* 6 compare Isaiah xi. 15 which likewise belongs to the Maccabæan age.) Let the Palestinian peoples now bless Jehovah.

Psalm lxvii belongs to the same period. The bitterness of the struggle is over and the Jewish peoples are bidden to praise God with the Jews.

Psalm lxviii in its intelligible portions—for in some places the text is probably corrupt past restoration—can all be naturally explained with reference to the events of the Maccabæan period. The psalm which was evidently composed at a time of victory after struggle, is not apocalyptic, but like the apocalyptic literature it

[1] The only difficulty in this psalm is in 3*a*, which does not suit its context. Perhaps גברו is a scribal error for עברו, i.e. "iniquities" (or rather things which convict) "have passed away from me".

abounds with quotations from, and allusions to, the older portions of the Old Testament. It now appears to be probable that the wicked—that is to say, not the heathen but wicked *Jews*, such as Menelaus and other apostates—will perish, whereas the righteous can exult "before God" (*v.* 3), i.e. in His Temple. This points to the time of the recovery and rededication of the Temple in December 165 B.C. (according to 1 Macc. iv. 52), or perhaps more probably to a celebration of its anniversary somewhat later. Jehovah has been driven from His house, as once before at the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar (cf. Ezek. xi. 22 f. and also xliii. 1–5); and He is now returning, leading His people thither to worship. There comes therefore to the psalmist's mind the exhortation of the so-called "Deutero-Isaiah" (xl. 3) who in anticipation of a return from exile had written, "Clear ye the way of Jehovah, make straight through the *Arabah* a highway for our God". This exhortation the psalmist adapts to the circumstances of his own time. It is significant that he uses the plural *arâbôth*, that is to say, in all the places where godly Jews are, so to speak, in exile among the heathen, Jehovah delivers them and conducts them to His house. Here in His holy habitation He shews Himself a Father of the fatherless and One who gives justice to widows.[1] He makes the solitary (cf. 1 Macc. ii. 29, i. 53; 2 Macc. x. 6; Hebrews xi. 37 f.) dwell[2] at home; that is to say, in Judæa, where it is possible to worship Jehovah; He also brings out the prisoners into welfare, whereas the rebellious continue to dwell in the parched land, i.e. in a land devoid of the water of life (cf. Jer. ii. 13; Ezek. xlvii). It will be remembered that

[1] *Widows* and *orphans* in all the Old Testament are types of the unprotected, but after the events recorded in 1 Macc. i. 53–64, there must have been many widows and orphans in the ordinary sense of the words (cf. 2 Macc. viii. 28).

[2] Or perhaps reading משיב for מושיב "He makes the solitary return home" which harmonizes better with ביתה.

from Gilead and Galilee (1 Macc. v. 16–23, 45) Judas, Jonathan and Simon took to Judæa those Jews who, for the sake of their religion, had been persecuted by their Gentile neighbours or by apostate Jews. The latter would naturally prefer to remain where they were.

In *v.* 7, which is a reminiscence of Judges v. 4, the psalmist goes on to speak of the war which has issued in victory. There was a time of earthquake and storm (*v.* 8)—the description is metaphorical (cf. Haggai ii. 6 f., 21 f.)—when Jehovah went forth to battle before His people (cf. Zech. ix. 14), and marched triumphantly through the desert.[1] But Jehovah's storm which discomfited His enemies did not hurt His people, on whom He sent, as it were, a plentiful rain (cf. Zech. x. 1), restoring His land when it was fainting with thirst for His manifest presence. Jehovah for a long time refrained from intervening (cf. Isaiah xlii. 14, lxiv. 12), but now He is giving His word of command (אמר), and like Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite (Judges iv. 22) there is a great host of Jewish women who announce His victory. Kings with armies at their disposal, such as Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. 1 Macc. vi. 1 ff.) or Demetrius (1 Macc. vii. 39 ff.) flee before Jehovah, and their spoil is brought home to those who have not been able to take part in the battle (cf. 1 Macc. v. 35, vi. 6).[2]

In *vv.* 15 f. the psalmist refers to the political change brought about in the Seleucid empire by the success of the Maccabæan rising. Bashan (cf. Zech. xi. 2) has been a stronghold of Seleucid rule, and has been disposed to

[1] This is probably to be understood metaphorically of the desert of heathenism. The words זה סיני (*v.* 8) literally "that is Sinai" are probably a gloss added by someone who imagined that there was a reference to Ex. xix. 18. A similar gloss is found in Judges v. 5, which has perhaps affected this passage.

[2] Verses 13 and 14 are very obscure, and the text is probably mutilated. In *v.* 13 there is evidently a reference to Judges v. 16 (cf. Gen. xlix. 14) and in *v.* 14 there *may* have been a reference to Judges ix. 48.

treat Sion with contempt. But Sion can now scorn her scorners, since Jehovah will dwell in her for ever. His equipment for war, though not dreamed of by the heathen, far exceeds that of the Gentiles. He has come as it were once more from Sinai[1] in His holiness to deliver His people. And now after His victory He has re-ascended to the height of heaven (למרום, cf. Jer. xxv. 30), like Barak, having led His captors captive (cf. Judges v. 12),[2] and having received gifts among men—perhaps a reference to the sacrifices and the adornment of the Temple described in 1 Macc. iv. 53–57.[3]

He has shewn Himself as One Who bears His people (cf. Isaiah xlvi. 3)—or perhaps, bears their burden for them—and Who is the cause of their victory (ישועתנו). He wounds the head of His enemies, and the hairy crown of one who habitually practises what is an offence against Him (*v.* 21). The language here *may* perhaps be influenced by Deut. xxxii. 42, but there is no quotation, and it seems better to look for an explanation elsewhere. To say that it is merely a "picturesque detail without significance" is a counsel of despair: the Hebrew writers are not in the habit of using phrases that have no meaning. It is probable therefore that in the phrase "the hairy crown" we have a reference to *some particular person or persons*. Normally a Jew kept his head, or at least the crown of it, covered, and we know how scandalised sticklers for the old customs were, when, under Jason, young Jews began to wear the Greek hat (2 Macc. iv. 12). There is no law actually

[1] Reading בא מסיני for בם סיני (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2). It is to be noted that even in Ex. xix. 20 Jehovah does not *dwell* on Sinai, but comes down thither from heaven.

[2] Probably the reading here should be assimilated to that of Judges v. 12, which should be pointed שִׁבְיְךָ. The change may be intentional and due to an unimaginative reverence which shrank from speaking of Jehovah's captors. The Massoretic pointing of Judges v. 12 is influenced by the text of Ps. lxviii. 18.

[3] The concluding words of *v.* 18 are untranslatable.

compelling laymen to keep their heads covered, but the high-priest is forbidden to let the hair of his head go loose (Lev. xxi. 10, cf. x. 6), and certainly on all official occasions he had his head covered (Ex. xxviii. 4, 36–38). We may be pretty certain however that Menelaus, who was nominally high priest till he was put to death in 163 (2 Macc. xiii. 3–7; Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 9, § 7) was not scrupulous in observing the Jewish law about dress; and he doubtless appeared in Jerusalem garbed like a Greek and hatted, or, when indoors, bareheaded (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 3, § 2).[1]

The government whose stronghold is in Bashan (cf. *v.* 15) is powerless against Jehovah. He has determined to bring back to Judæa those who for his sake have been imprisoned in Bashan, and who are apparently overwhelmed in the depth of the sea—i.e. the abysses of Gentile tyranny (cf. Ps. xviii. 4, 16; Daniel vii. 2 f.); and in so doing He has enabled His people to wash their footsteps in the blood of the ungodly (cf. lviii. 10), whose corpses, like that of Jezebel, are food for the pariah dogs (cf. 2 Macc. xii. 15 f.). No longer can the heathen deny Jehovah, for many have seen Him—not only as God but also as King of the Jews—taking possession of His house. It was a never-to-be-forgotten procession—the choristers and musicians leading the way, surrounded by maidens playing on timbrels (cf. 1 Macc. iv. 54). Whereas in the persecution under Antiochus it was impossible to worship Jehovah except in secret, now His praises may be sounded in great assemblies (מקהלות).[2] It is noteworthy that of the twelve tribes only four are here

[1] Although the phrases are different, the Hebrew מתהלך באשמיו would certainly represent to Hebrew ears a man such as Menelaus is said to have been in 2 Macc. iv. 50. For the use of אשם compare יאשמו in the contemporary passage Zech. xi. 5.

[2] The last two words of *v.* 26 are obscure, and there seems to be some omission.

mentioned, viz. Benjamin, Judah, Zebulun and Naphthali.[1] Thus Samaria is entirely excluded, but Jews from Galilee—perhaps those who are mentioned in 1 Macc. v. 23—take part in the triumph. What has taken place is an earnest of what Jehovah will accomplish. Accordingly the psalmist prays that He will issue a command,[2] and will confirm what He has already done. He has proved Himself a great King, and to Him kings will now bring presents.[3] Verse 30, apart from its somewhat apocalyptic phraseology, is obscure, and it is uncertain whether it should be read as a prayer in the second person, or as a statement in the third person. By the "reed-beast" Egypt is apparently meant—the allusion being perhaps to 2 Kings xviii. 21 = Isaiah xxxvi. 6. It will be remembered that Antiochus Epiphanes had had a considerable amount of success in his invasion of Egypt (cf. Daniel xi. 25–28); and although he had been compelled by Rome to evacuate the country (*ibid.* *v.*30) he subsequently posed as its conqueror (*House of Seleucus*, vol. II. pp. 145 f.), and it was expected that before long he would be master of Egypt as far south as the Sudan (cf. Daniel xi. 40–43; Isaiah xix. 16–23). By the "federation of bulls" (עדת אבירים) we are to understand the various heathen potentates, and "calves of peoples" (עגלי עמים) are probably to be explained as the wealthy grandees (compared to fatted oxen) of the Palestinian peoples. In the next clause of *v.* 30 the text is doubtful, and so is the word rendered "princes"

[1] Unfortunately the text of this verse (27) is doubtful. The enigmatic words רדם and רגמתם are probably corrupt, but emendation is precarious.

[2] Reading with the LXX צִוָּה and אלהים. Perhaps for עוזה we should read עֻזָּרָה "Command O God, Thy strength, even the help which Thou hast wrought for us".

[3] For the phrase יובילו שַׁי cf. Ps. lxxvi. 11; Isaiah xviii. 7. The phrase was evidently current at this period. The opening word or words of *v.* 29 are lost. מהיכלך cannot mean "*because* of Thy Temple".

in *v.* 31.[1] Verse 32 may be illustrated from Daniel vii. 27 and *v.* 33 *b* from Ps. xxix. The last verse insists that it is the God of Israel Who gives power to His people, that is, there is a denial of the claim of any other god.

Psalm lxix is the utterance of one who is in a situation similar to that which is described in Ps. xl. 12 ff. He is a victim of religious persecution (*v.* 9), and members of his own family (*v.* 8) are among those who persecute him. The violent imprecation in *vv.* 22–28 is only intelligible if it is uttered against apostate Jews—as indeed the words "let them not come into Thy righteousness" prove.

Verses 29–37 are probably an appendix added somewhat later, when there is a hope of victory and restoration, but it is still impossible to get up to the Temple to worship. Verse 31 resembles xl. 6, l. 8 ff., li. 16 f.

Psalm lxx is the same as xl. 13–17.

Psalm lxxi implies a situation like that of lxix.

Psalm lxxii suggests a situation such as is indicated in Zech. ix. 9, 10 with which *v.* 8 *b* is in verbal agreement. In connexion with Zech. ix. 9 it is to be noted that the writer apparently has not in view any definite person who is to be king, and he does not imply that the restoration of the monarchy will be brought about in the *immediate* future—at least this is to be inferred from the use of the imperfect יבוא after הנה instead of the more usual participle בא. Further he does not say that the king will be of the line of David,[2] but that he will be "poor" (עני) that is to say that he will come from the ranks of those who have been poor for righteousness' sake.

Similarly the author of Ps. lxxii prays that God's

[1] For the first clause of *v.* 31 (Heb. 32) we should perhaps read יאתו יחישו מני מצרים, "They shall come hastening out of Egypt" (cf. Isaiah xix. 21 ff.).

[2] Cf. Isaiah ix. 9, where the king is to sit on David's throne, but is not described as a son of David.

justice may be given to *a* king—the absence of the definite article is remarkable—whose dynasty will be permanent, who will reign in righteousness and defend the poor. His rule will be to his country as beneficial as the rain, and his kingdoms will not only include all Palestine from east to west, but will extend as far north as the Euphrates. He will be absolutely victorious over his enemies—with *v.* 9 compare Isaiah xlix. 23—and to him the kings of the Mediterranean lands and of Arabia shall pay court. He will be famous for his protection of the poor, so that under his rule "peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety" will be established to all generations.

Psalm lxxiii, like xxxvii, is the utterance of one who holds the orthodox Jewish theory of retribution, and whose faith has been sorely tried by the prosperity of the wicked and the sufferings of the godly. The date of composition, though *v.* 17 implies that the Temple is in Jewish hands, would seem to be fairly early in the struggle—perhaps about the time of the defeat of Judas.

Psalm lxxiv. 1–11, with its description of what has been done at the Temple, not only finds ample illustration in the books of Maccabees, but indeed cannot well be explained at any other time. For Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans did not interfere with the Jewish religion or appoint their own religious emblems (אוֹתֹת) to be reverenced by the conquered people; whereas Antiochus Epiphanes endeavoured to substitute Greek paganism for the Jewish law, and actually set up in the Temple an image of Olympian Zeus. Moreover, in 586 B.C. the whole of the Temple proper seems to have been destroyed by fire, and was rebuilt from the foundations in 520 and the following years. Psalm lxxiv states indeed that the sanctuary (מִקְדָּשׁ) has been set on fire (cf. Isaiah lxiv. 10 f.), but this does not necessarily imply total destruction; and it is interesting to compare with this psalm the description in 1 Macc.

iv. 38 of what Antiochus had done at the Temple in 168 B.C. In 165 the Maccabees, we are told, "saw the sanctuary laid desolate" (τὸ ἁγίασμα ἠρημωμένον), —this is not to be understood as meaning necessarily that the Temple proper was in ruins, and indeed the subsequent context shews that it was still standing— "the gates burned up" (cf. 2 Macc. i. 8, viii. 33), "and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest or as on one of the mountains" (cf. Isaiah lxv. 3, lxvi. 17)—in view of the very small rainfall in Palestine these shrubs cannot have been *wild* shrubs, but must have been *planted*; a proceeding which would horrify orthodox Jews as being contrary to Deut. xvi. 21—"and the priests' chambers pulled down". There had therefore been a clearance of some of the buildings of the Temple, and the gate-houses had been destroyed by fire; and this is quite sufficient to justify the statements of this psalm and of Isaiah lxiv. 10 f. Verses 5 and 6 appear to be a reminiscence of Jer. xlvi. 22. The destruction of all the synagogues (מועדי אל), in view of the statement of 1 Macc. i, is what we should expect; but we know of no other period after the exile when buildings set apart for the worship of Jehovah would be specially liable to destruction. The psalmist's complaint (*v.* 9) that the godly Jews see not their "signs" is in accordance with the statement that the copies of the law were destroyed; while his lament that "there is no prophet" may be illustrated from 1 Macc. xiv. 41. It is clear from Zech. xiii. 2–6 that though there were still professional ecstatic prophets, who wore the old prophetic dress, they were utterly discredited except among the more ignorant and superstitious.

The psalmist's declaration that Jehovah is his King of old—a description which is not common in the pre-exilic literature—both here and in other psalms has much more point at a time when Antiochus claimed to be both king and god. It will be noted that *vv.* 13, 14

(cf. Ps. lxxxix. 10), the language of which is borrowed from the old Babylonian mythology (cf. Job iii. 8; Isaiah li. 9 f.), are in harmony with a late date, and that *vv.* 16, 17 are apparently a reminiscence not only of Gen. i but also of Gen. viii. 22, and are therefore later than the publication of the whole Pentateuch.

Psalm lxxv dates from a period of victory, and was perhaps composed a little earlier than 141 B.C. The general resemblance to the so-called "song of Hannah" (1 Sam. ii. 1–10) will be noticed. The language of *v.* 8 may be illustrated from Isaiah li. 17–23.

Psalm lxxvi was likewise composed at a time of success (cf. Ps. xlvi), perhaps 165–164 B.C., but probably rather later. Jehovah has made Himself known in Judah, and His name—which many apostates were blaspheming—is now great in Israel. He has brought it about that His habitation is in Salem—the name is borrowed from Gen. xiv. 18—and His dwelling is in Sion. The language would be suitable to the time of Judas' victory at Adasa (1 Macc. vii. 39–47): notice the reference to the spoiling of the foe (*v.* 5) compared with 1 Macc. vii. 47.[1] Perhaps in the "stouthearted" (*v.* 5) we may see a reference to Nicanor's "proud brags" (2 Macc. xv. 32).

Psalm lxxvii implies a situation similar to that which is described in Ps. xliv.

Psalm lxxviii draws a lesson from the ancient history of Israel; it is to be noticed, however, that it is a *lesson particularly suitable to the Maccabæan age* (see in particular *vv.* 10, 11). Verse 67, which singles out the tribe of Joseph as having been rejected as a place for Jehovah's sanctuary, implies a date later than the Samaritan schism. The affliction of Israel in the past, the psalmist maintains, has been due to Jehovah's wrath at Israel's apostasy, and as soon as His people have repented, He

[1] This, however, is not the only reference to the spoiling of the foe by the Maccabees; cf. for example, 1 Macc. iv. 23, v. 22, 35, 68.

has delivered them. The point of *vv.* 60–64, which describe what happened at Shiloh in the days of Samuel, is that a similar disaster has recently taken place at Jerusalem. Verse 65 in its boldly anthropomorphic language, resembles Ps. xliv. 23; Isaiah xlii. 13, li. 9. Verse 70 suggests that the psalmist expects a restoration of the Davidic monarchy. For an account of this expectation see Ps. lxxxix.

Psalm lxxix, which mentions the profanation of the Temple by Gentiles (גוים), and which is actually quoted in 1 Macc. vii. 17, describes exactly the situation in Judah and Jerusalem in 170–165 B.C.; see 1 Macc. i. 20–64; Zech. xiv. 1 f. In view of what Mr E. R. Bevan has written in his extremely valuable work *The House of Seleucus* (vol. II. p. 298), a few words here in defence of the Jewish historians may not be out of place. Mr Bevan writes,

> Modern writers are apt to lose sight of something which the ancient Jewish writers did all they could to cover with oblivion—this Hellenising Jewish community. It is one of the most interesting facts which Niese's *Kritik* has brought out that in representing Jerusalem as desolate and the Temple courts as overgrown with wild shrubs in 165, the writer of 1 Maccabees is intentionally making a vacuum where really there was a Hellenistic population. The two accounts of what happened to the Temple (1) that it was given over to heathen worship, (2) that it was forsaken, are in fact inconsistent.

As a matter of fact, however, the writer of 1 Maccabees does not represent Jerusalem as a "vacuum"; for he says (i. 38) that Jerusalem "became a *habitation of strangers* and she became strange *to them that were born in her*, and *her children forsook her*". Similarly in 1 Macc. iii. 45, it is said that "there was *none of her offspring* that went in or went out". It would be more correct to say not that the writer of 1 Maccabees is creating a vacuum, but that, regarding Jerusalem as the city of Jehovah, he treats as negligible those who are not both

worshippers of Jehovah and true born Jews. One is reminded of Lord Westbury's definition of *mob* as "a noun of multitude, signifying many but not signifying much". And the feeling of the Hellenisers towards the orthodox Jews was on a par with that of the latter towards the former. The words which the author of Ps. xxii. 6 uses of himself (cf. Isaiah xlix. 7, liii. 3) would doubtless have been applied to him by the Hellenisers. It is interesting to note that Antiochus in writing to the Jews (2 Macc. ix. 19–27) *ignores Judas and the insurgents*. There is, moreover, independent testimony that Jerusalem suffered terribly at this time. Zechariah xiv. 1–2, which is in substantial agreement with 1 Macc. i. 30–32, regards the population of Jerusalem as reduced to one half; and Zech. xiii. 8 represents the population of Judæa as reduced to a third. The statement of 1 Macc. iv. 38 need not be understood as implying that the Temple precincts were a *desert*. Some of the buildings had been pulled down, and since for three years it had been dedicated to the worship of Olympian Zeus, it was forsaken by its Jewish *personnel* the priests and Levites. It is not said that the plants growing in the courts were *wild*: had this been meant, a Jewish author writing in the language of the Old Testament, would have said "thorns" (cf. Hosea ix. 6, x. 8; Isaiah vii. 23, 25, xxxiv. 13).

Psalm lxxx implies a like situation, and date. The phrase "Thou that sittest upon the cherubim" does not of course imply that the Temple is in Jewish hands, but is probably founded on Ezekiel's vision. It is noteworthy that the psalmist prays (*v.* 2) "Before Ephraim and Benjamin and Manasseh, stir up thy might, and come to save us". The omission of any reference to Ephraim and Manasseh—the province of Samaria—in Ps. lxviii has been already noticed. "The city of Samaria in the middle of the land was Greek and pagan, having been already colonised with Macedonians

by Alexander in 331. Only the country villages were inhabited by 'Samaritans' with their religious centre on Mount Gerizim" (*House of Seleucus*, vol. II. p. 164). The region of Ephraim and Manasseh therefore, apart from its Greek inhabitants, was occupied by those who were likeminded with "the foolish people that dwell in Sichem" as Ben Sira calls them (Ecclus. l. 26); and these had no sympathy with the Jews who worshipped at Jerusalem, whether these latter lived in Judah or in Galilee or Gilead. The mention of Benjamin between Ephraim and Manasseh is remarkable, especially in view of the fact that in Ps. lxviii Benjamin is associated with Judah, Zebulun and Naphtali. Some of Benjamin at least was held by the Maccabees even in the early days of the struggle; for "Mizpeh over against Jerusalem" (1 Macc. iii. 46) was included in Benjamite territory (Josh. xviii. 26); but probably a great part of what was accounted as belonging to Benjamin was connected with Samaria. Whereas by one writer therefore Benjamin might be associated with Judah—since Mizpeh, during the pagan occupation of the Temple became, as far as was possible, a substitute for Jerusalem—by another it would be associated with Samaria.

Psalm lxxxi has come down to us apparently in a mutilated form. Verse 6, for example, obviously refers not to Joseph, which the grammatical construction would imply, but to Israel. The warning against the worship of any foreign god (*v.* 9) and the mention not only of Israel's enemies but of the "haters of the Lord" also are in harmony with what we know of the Maccabæan age.

Psalm lxxxii is an apocalyptic allegory of Jehovah's victory over the false gods. The psalmist who, clearly, has in mind Deut. xxxii. 8[1] represents Jehovah as

[1] The right translation of this passage, the text being corrected in accordance with the LXX is as follows: "When the Most High allotted the nations"—the metaphor is taken from the periodic allotment of the

presiding Judge at an assize at which there are arraigned before Him those whom He has hitherto allowed to be regarded as the gods[1] of the various nations other than Israel. Compare for the figure of an assize Daniel vii. 9, and for that of the arrangement of the gods Isaiah xxiv. 21. Verse 2 states the crimes of which the so-called gods have been guilty: they have governed unjustly, and have favoured the wicked, whereas they ought to have done justice to the helpless and to have delivered them from their wicked oppressors. Verse 5 gives us the Divine Judge's summing up. It is hopeless to expect good from the prisoners at the bar, who are invincibly ignorant—"They know not, neither do they understand: they walk to and fro (i.e. in the administration of the districts allotted to them, cf. Job i. 7, ii. 2) in darkness"—and therefore the whole moral government of the world is out of gear (cf. Isaiah xxiv. 1, 19). Then follows Jehovah's sentence of degradation on those whom hitherto He has allowed to be styled "gods"—"It was I Who said, Ye are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High" (i.e. *I* said, and I can unsay); "Nevertheless ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes". The psalm concludes with an anticipation of the prayer, "Thy kingdom come", the language of which is probably based upon Deut. xxxii. 8.

Obviously a poem on the downfall of paganism was peculiarly appropriate in the Maccabæan age. Nor is the theology of the psalmist incompatible with so late a date—for there is no need to understand his language *au pied de la lettre*. It is surely as unnecessary to suppose

land belonging to the village community—"when He separated mankind, He set the bounds of the peoples according to the number of the gods" (בני האלהים, cf. Job i. 6, ii. 1). The reading of the Massoretic text is perhaps a correction made by a prosy editor, who feared that the original reading might be understood as implying a plurality of gods.

[1] Sense and parallelism require the plural אֵלִים. Compare Pss. xxix. 1, lxxxix. 6—though in these passages we have בני אלים.

that the psalmist believed in the objective reality of the gods whom he represents as on their trial as it is to suppose that the painter Gustave Doré, in representing Jupiter with his thunderbolts as cast down from heaven by the triumph of the Cross, believed in the objective reality of Jupiter. The belief of the psalmist is essentially the same as that which is expressed by S. Paul in Acts xiv. 16.

Psalm lxxxiii—which represents Israel as an object of hatred to Edom and the Ishmaelites, Moab, and the Hagarenes (i.e. the dwellers in the wilderness east of Gilead, cf. 1 Chron. v. 10), Gebal (i.e. not Byblus on the coast, but the modern Jibal south of the Dead Sea), Ammon, Ammalek, and the Philistines—finds complete illustration in the history of the Maccabæan period. The enmity of Edom, Moab and Ammon is related in 1 Macc. v. It is true that Moab is not mentioned here by name, but Jazer (1 Macc. v. 8) was Moabite, and the name Moab occurs in Daniel xi. 41: compare Isaiah xi. 14. It is clear that Hebrew writers continued to use the old names, regardless of the later political division of provinces. The Ishmaelites and the Hagarenes apparently denote the Arabs on the south and east of Palestine respectively; and these are mentioned as hostile to Israel, the former in 2 Macc. xii. 10, and the latter in 1 Macc. xii. 31. Amalek and Gebal represent the inhabitants of the Negeb and the district formerly occupied by Edom. The name of Amalek is found in Num. xxiv. 20, which is a late addition[1] to the story of Balaam, and there is no difficulty in supposing that it survived till the second century B.C. The antagonism of the Philistines is mentioned in 1 Macc. v. 55–62, 68; and Tyre, which appears as hostile to the Jews in

[1] That the concluding verse does not belong to this original poem is evident from the mention of "ships from the coast of Kittim" (*v.* 24) which can scarcely be explained of any event earlier than the time of Alexander the Great (cf. 1 Macc. i. 1 and Dan. xi. 30).

1 Macc. v. 15, is found in Zech. ix. 1 f., among the strongholds of the Seleucid government. Nor is the mention of Assyria inconsistent with a date in the Maccabæan period; for it is certain from Ezra vi. 22 that the name was used by a writer who lived as late as the second century B.C. to denote not Assyria, but the Asiatic empire which succeeded to the Assyrian (compare also 2 Esdras ii. 8; Josephus, *Ant.* XIII. 6, § 7). There is therefore no difficulty in understanding the name in Ps. lxxxiii as denoting the Seleucid empire, which is probably so designated in Isaiah x. 24–27, xi. 11–16, xix. 23–25. At first sight it is somewhat remarkable that Assyria is mentioned not as the chief enemy of Israel, but as supporting the Palestinian foes; but this cannot be held to disprove the identification of Assyria with the Seleucid empire; for the difficulty would be as great in connexion with the empire of Tiglath Pileser, and of his successors. Moreover, if this psalm was composed about 164–163 B.C. the apparently subordinate position assigned to Assyria among the enemies of the Jews is easily explicable. After Lysias had made terms with the Jews, the forces of the Seleucid government ought to have stopped all acts of hostility against the Jews on the part of the various Palestinian peoples. If the government connived at such acts, or actively supported those who committed them, it was in effect a breach of the covenant. The reference to Oreb and Zeeb, Zebah and Zalmunnah, point to a time when the story of the past was read in the synagogues. It is remarkable that the defeat of Midian is referred to also in Isaiah ix. 4, x. 26. We may well imagine that the story of the victory achieved by Gideon (Judges vi–viii) with his insignificant force of three hundred men against the Midianites who were "as locusts for multitude", was a favourite reading in the early days of the Maccabæan struggle, when the following of the Hasmonæan brothers in comparison with the host of

"all peoples, nations and languages" opposing them, seemed as powerless as Gideon's three hundred against the Midianites.

Psalm lxxxiv, which with the five following psalms is apparently a supplement to the second collection, and *may* have had its origin in the synagogue of some other locality, is the composition of one who has experienced a situation similar to that of the author of Pss. xlii–xliii. It seems however to have been written when, at any rate, the worst trouble was over, and when it was again possible to visit the Temple. It is not clear who is meant by God's "anointed". The reference may be to Israel (cf. Ps. cv. 15): but if that had been the case, we should have expected some reference to Jacob or Israel as Jehovah's servant. The following reference to the Temple (*v.* 10) suggests that God's anointed one is the high priest (cf. Dan. ix. 25 f.) who is prevented from exercising his functions at Jerusalem. If this be the right interpretation, however, we have yet to discover what high priest is meant. Certainly Menelaus is out of the question; no Jew who retained a particle of religion could have recognised Menelaus as legitimate. The reference *may* be to Jason who after the murder of Oniah became the *legitimate* high priest, and was doubtless so regarded by the *Ḥasîdîm* (cf. *House of Seleucus*, vol. II. p. 172). We do not know the date of Jason's death. From Ammon, whither he had fled after the failure of his attack on Menelaus, he retired to Egypt, and thence to Greece (2 Macc. v. 1–10). The next high priest was Alcimus, who was appointed by Demetrius Soter about 162 B.C., and held office for about two years (1 Macc. ix. 54–56). At his first appointment he was welcomed by the *Ḥasîdîm* (1 Macc. vii. 13), who in this entirely dissociated themselves from the Hasmonæans. It was a very short time, however, before the *Ḥasîdîm* were disillusioned; and Ps. lxxxiv, as a whole, seems to reflect the conditions of a somewhat

later period. There is no evidence that Oniah, the son of the former high priest, who fled to Egypt and built a Temple at Leontopolis, ever ministered in the Temple or was duly anointed. Josephus, who mentions him in three places (*Ant.* XIII. 3, §§ 1–3; *Wars* I. 1, § 1, VII. 10, § 3), gives a confused account, and was uncertain who was his father. This Oniah evidently found a considerable number of supporters among the Jews, but the writer of Ps. lxxxiv was too loyal to the Temple on Sion to be one of them. Who officiated as high priest between the death of Alcimus and the formal appointment of Jonathan in 152 (*The House of Seleucus*, vol. II. p. 216; cf. 1 Macc. x. 18–21) is unknown. It has been suggested by Mr E. R. Bevan (*ibid.* p. 199) that previous to the appointment of Alcimus the high priestly functions had been usurped by the Hasmonæan brethren, and this may also have been the case between 160 and 152. It is not improbable that the *Ḥasîdîm* never acquiesced unreservedly in the Hasmonæan high priesthood; at least this is suggested by the proviso, that the existing arrangement should continue only "until there should arise a faithful prophet" (1 Macc. xiv. 41). It may, however, be supposed that when "Jonathan put on the holy garments" (1 Macc. x. 21), he received at the same time a formal consecration and unction (cf. Exodus xxix. 5–7), and that even though it may have been with considerable misgiving, he was generally accepted as the duly consecrated high priest. Upon the whole, therefore, it is probable that the reference in Ps. lxxxiv is to Jonathan.

Psalm lxxxv of which verses 4–7 are perhaps quoted from a somewhat earlier composition, expresses thankfulness that the tribulation is over and peace has come, and it may probably be dated about 142–141 B.C.

Psalm lxxxvi, the greater part of which was composed in a time of tribulation, has been modified by the insertion of *vv.* 8–13 which are more suitable to a time of victory and peace.

Psalm lxxxvii, the text of which appears to have suffered some mutilation, may be assigned to the time when Simon, who had succeeded Jonathan as high priest was virtually an independent ruler. Jehovah, the psalmist says, has shewn that He loves Sion more than any other part of Israel. Sion has a glorious future before her (cf. Isaiah ii. 3; Micah iv. 2; Isaiah xlix. 6); for she will become the teacher of the world; so that those who in time past have been outside the covenant of Israel will in future be regarded as true born citizens of Jerusalem (compare "Ekron shall be as a Jebusite" Zech. ix. 7). Rahab (here as in Isaiah xxx. 7 = Egypt) and Babylon (which in Isaiah xiv *in its present context* was understood as meaning the kingdom of the world, the Seleucid empire; cf. the book of Daniel and Rev. xvii–xviii) will be reckoned among those who know Jehovah. The Philistines, Tyrians and Ethiopians will no longer be considered as Gentiles, but will be reckoned as born in Sion (cf. Isaiah xviii. 7, xix. 18 ff.; Zeph. iii. 9 ff.). Ethiopia (כּוּשׁ, cf. Ps. lxviii. 31) denotes the land and people of the southern Nile valley or Upper Egypt, extending indefinitely to the south (*Ox. Dict. s.v.*). It is referred to in the following passages—themselves also of Maccabæan date—Isaiah xi. 11; Zeph. iii. 10.

Psalm lxxxviii, with its unrelieved gloom, appears to have been composed in circumstances similar to those which are indicated in Ps. xxii, xliv, etc.

Psalm lxxxix was evidently composed at a time of victory, though the tone of its latter portion, *vv.*38–51, shews that what the psalmist regards as the necessary result of this victory is not yet in sight. The nature of the victory is made clear in *vv.* 9–18, Jehovah has shewn that He can still the waves of the sea—i.e. the might of the powers of darkness (cf. Ps. lxv. 7; Daniel vii. 2). He has broken Rahab (i.e. Egypt; cf. Ps. lxxxvii. 4, and also Isaiah li. 9 ff. where, however, the *primary*

reference is to the exodus from Egypt)—probably an allusion to the failure of Ptolemy Philometor's attempt to make himself master of Syria—and he has scattered his enemies (cf. Ps. lxviii. 12). It is now evident that the whole world belongs to Jehovah (see on Ps. xxiv), in Whose name His people rejoice. It is clear that the psalmist considers that the victory over Israel's enemies ought to issue in the restoration of the dynasty of David. A prayer for such a restoration is found in Ps. cxxxii; and in Ps. cxxii. 5 the conviction is expressed that the thrones of judgment in Jerusalem are the thrones of the house of David. If therefore in these psalms we have compositions expressing the thought of the Maccabæan age, it will be well to consider what is known about the house of David at this period. Happily we are not left to mere speculation, for in a document which, without regard to the Psalter, is assigned by many to the Maccabæan age we have a clear reference to the house of David. Thus in Zech. xii. 7 we read "Jehovah will save the house of Judah first, that the glory of the house of David and the glory of the inhabitants of Jerusalem be not magnified above Judah". Wellhausen (*Die Kleine Propheten*, p. 199) has explained the words "the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem" as a mere phrase to express the government and population of Jerusalem, like *Senatus populusque Romanus*; and if the phrase were a common one and occurred in the older literature, such an explanation might be accepted. But against this interpretation is the fact that the phrase is not found in the literature of the Hebrew monarchy; and further, in Zech. xii. 12 f. the house of David is associated with the house of Nathan, the house of Levi, and the family of the Shimeites as implicated in a crime which must be expiated by repentance and a solemn fast. In view of this subsequent mention of "the house of David", it seems impossible to give to the phrase any meaning except the most natural one; and the whole

passage Zech. xii–xiii. 1 may be accepted as evidence that in the days of the Maccabæan struggle the house of David still held its place at Jerusalem as head of the Judæan aristocracy.[1]

It must not be forgotten that although for a time the *Hasîdîm* threw in their lot with the Hasmonæans and their followers (1 Macc. ii. 42), there was a great difference between the two parties—a difference which on one occasion at least, viz. the appointment of Alcimus, led to actual separation (1 Macc. vii. 13). Further, as has been noticed, it is evident from the wording of 1 Macc. xiv. 41 that by certain elements of the population Simon was accepted as governor and high priest only with a considerable amount of misgiving. It is reasonable therefore to suppose that those who were anxious for the legitimacy of the high priest would also, following Ezekiel, be imbued with the idea that the dynasty of David was the one legitimate dynasty, and they would expect that the independence of Israel would be followed as a matter of course by the proclamation of a representative of the house of David as king. It is interesting to notice that in Isaiah lv. 3 "the sure mercies of David" (i.e. which David receives) are part of Jehovah's "everlasting covenant" with Israel, and that the Davidic ruler is to be not only a "witness to the peoples", but also a "leader and commander".

But that the war of independence should issue in the restoration of the Davidic monarchy was not at all in

[1] The absence of any mention of the family of David after the time of Haggai and Zechariah till the Maccabæan period is easily accounted for. The book of Deuteronomy, which to a great extent represents the thought of central Palestine, looks for a king (chap. xvii. 14–20) but expects that he will rise not from Judah but from the Joseph tribes (contrast xxxiii. 13–17 with 7). Nehemiah definitely abandoned the idea of the restoration of the monarchy, and made the high priest the head of the nation, under the Persian rule. Accordingly it was not till the recovery of Jewish independence that the idea of restoring the Davidic dynasty was mooted.

accordance with the ambition of the Hasmonæans. There was not room in Jerusalem both for a high priest after the order of Melchizedek—i.e. one who acted not only as high priest but also virtually as king—and also a king of the line of David; and accordingly the Hasmonæans found an excuse for setting aside the claims of the house of David. From Zechariah xii. 10–xiii. 1 it is pretty clear that the house of David had thrown in its lot with the Hellenisers, and indeed that it had been implicated in a murder—probably that of Oniah whom Menelaus contrived to have put to death at Antioch (2 Macc. iv. 31 ff.)—the guilt of which murder must be expiated by a solemn act of penitence. The sin of the house of David is not obscurely hinted at in Ps. lxxxix. 30 ff.,[1] though the psalmist, like the author of Zech. xii–xiii. 1, believed that this sin might be expiated.

In the light of these facts, and in view moreover of the circumstance that Jonathan and Simon had at their disposal the only Jewish forces, it is not surprising that those whom we may call the Jewish Legitimists were unable to secure for any member of the house of David the civil headship of Israel. Those who had the power to exclude the Davidic family from high places could find also a plausible pretext for so doing. It is little wonder that less than a century and a half from the general recognition of Simon's high priesthood we find the acknowledged representative of the house of David working for his living as a country carpenter. The revival in the Psalms of Solomon of the hope of a Davidic

[1] The general agreement between Ps. lxxxix. 19–37 and 2 Sam. vii. 8–16 will be manifest to everyone. It is difficult to say which is the earliest, but it seems probable on the whole that the psalm is an elaboration of the latter passage; for whereas in 2 Sam. vii. 14 the possible contingency of unworthiness on the part of the Davidic house is stated in *general* terms—"if he commit iniquity"—in Ps. lxxxix we have the more definite language "if his children forsake my law and walk not in my judgments; if they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments".

king makes it probable that in 63 B.C. it was known that the house of David was not extinct.

The last section of this psalm, *vv.* 38–51, which is characterised by a tone of disappointment, at first sight appears inconsistent with the apparently joyful confidence of the psalmist's exordium (*vv.* 1, 2) and may be a slightly later addition. It is, however, not impossible to maintain the unity of the psalm;[1] and the minor key in which it concludes may be accounted for on the supposition that it is the recital of the glories of the house of David promised long ago which makes the psalmist feel more keenly its present humiliation.

The question however arises, What are the disasters to the house of David which the psalmist enumerates in *vv.* 38 ff.? The language does not seem altogether suitable to the catastrophe of 597 and 586 B.C.—especially in view of the fact that in the judgment of the contemporary prophets that catastrophe was thoroughly deserved (cf. Jer. xxii; Ezek. xvi, xvii, etc.). Moreover, *v.* 51 seems to imply hostility to the representative of the house of David personally.[2] It seems therefore not improbable that the psalmist was *anti-Hasmonæan*, and that in his reference to the adversaries and enemies of Jehovah's anointed, he has in view those who in his opinion are depriving the house of David, or its chief representative, of its just right. It must be remembered that 1 Maccabees is the work of a partisan of the Hasmonæans, who for the glorification of his heroes did not

[1] This unity would be more apparent if in *v.* 38 instead of "But *thou*" (וְאַתָּה) "But *now*" (וְעַתָּה) were read. There is no need for the emphasis on the personal pronoun, whereas the "Then" (אָז) of *v.* 19 suggests a contrast with the psalmist's own time.

[2] This becomes more apparent if the text of *v.* 50, which has certainly suffered corruption, be corrected. The change from the third person plural, עֲבָדֶיךָ (thy *servants*), to the first person singular, שְׂאֵתִי (How *I* do bear), is most improbable, and we should probably read עַבְדְּךָ, שְׂאֵתוֹ and בְּהֵיקוֹ.

hesitate in some instances to garble what he does relate,[1] and who doubtless omitted what it was inconvenient to record. Against the absence of any mention of the house of David in 1 and 2 Maccabees must be set the mention of it in the contemporary writer of Zech. xii. 7–xiii. 1, as well as in two psalms contained in the last book, viz. cxxii and cxxxii; and also the isolated reference to "the sure mercies of David" and his leadership in Isaiah lv. 3–4. Account must also be taken of the "shoot out of the stock of Jesse" in the late passage Isaiah xi. 1 and of the clear reference to the family of David in the equally late passage Micah v. 2–9.

Psalm xc, which a late editor considered to represent the sentiments of Moses, was evidently composed in a time of affliction. The point of the insistence on the transitoriness of human life is that, life being so short, there is little time for those who have been afflicted to receive their compensating comfort before the end comes (cf. Ps. xxxix. 13 and also Ecclus. xi. 25–28). Like the author of Ps. li this psalmist believes that the afflictions which he and those likeminded with him have suffered are due to a withdrawal of Jehovah's favour, tantamount to their being judicially convicted of iniquities, and likewise he trusts Jehovah's justice, though he does not acknowledge any definite wrongdoing.

Psalm xci, with its unwavering acceptance of the doctrine of retribution as taught by Ezekiel and set forth by Eliphaz (Job v. 17 ff.), was apparently composed when, at any rate, the worst of the tribulation was over, and when it again seemed possible to maintain the old teaching.

Psalm xcii belongs to the same age, and expresses the same thought as its predecessor. It is a time of rejoicing for that which Jehovah has accomplished (*v.* 4). It is implied that the counsel of Jehovah has only recently been manifested, and that those whom the psalmist

[1] See, for example, *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, p. 89.

regards as unspiritual and fools (*v.* 6) have been disposed to cavil at Jehovah's delay in punishing their enemies. But the righteous will be rewarded and will continue to flourish even in old age.

Psalm xciii must not on account of its reference to a storm at sea be regarded as a *nature* poem. The psalmist's primary purpose is not to depict Jehovah's greatness as seen in nature but His greatness in His victory over those who have opposed Him. He reigns, or rather has become King (מָלָךְ) and not only *de jure* but also *de facto*: He is like a king, who, having vindicated his claim to kingship, arrays himself in royal apparel in the plenitude of his power. And the result of this assumption of the kingdom by Jehovah is that the earth which was shaken (cf. Isaiah xxiv. 19 f.) is now held so that it cannot shake. Jehovah has indeed always been king, and though the floods of wickedness (cf. Ps. xviii. 4) have roared and lifted up their waves, they have been unable to prevail; His ordinances as opposed to those of the heathen have been manifested as true (נאמנו); holiness—as distinct from the pollutions introduced into the Temple by Menelaus—becomes His house, and will be observed there for ever (cf. Zech. xiv. 20 f.).

Psalm xciv resembles xci and xcii, but is probably slightly earlier. The psalmist is convinced that just retribution is coming, but it has not yet come, though an earnest of it has been given.

Psalm xcv, which was not improbably composed for use in the Temple, resembles Ps. xciii in its insistence upon the kingship of Jehovah, Who is supreme over all gods. To Him belongs the whole world, and indeed He is the creator (cf. Ps. xxiv). The psalm is clearly addressed to those who are familiar with the Pentateuch. Let Israel now at the present time lay to heart the lesson which ought to have been learnt from the story of the wilderness wanderings. It was the faithlessness of

Israel at Meribah and Massah, when they questioned the power of Jehovah and asked whether He was among Israel or not (Ex. xvii. 7), that caused the long delay in their entering into their rest (cf. Ps. lxxxi. 13). The suitability of this teaching to the Maccabæan age, when some Jews had apostatised, and some had doubted Jehovah's power to save them, is obvious.

Psalm xcvi is a rapturous expression of joy at the victory of Jehovah ("salvation") which His people are invited to set forth continually. His glory must be told among the Gentiles (גוים) and the marvels which He has accomplished among all the non-Jewish people; for it is now evident that He is to be feared above all gods. The verbal agreement between *vv.* 7–8 and Ps. xxix. 1, 2 and between *v.* 10 and Ps. xciii. 1 shews the use which the psalmist made of phrases which had virtually become liturgical. For the invitation to the nations to bring offerings cf. Isaiah lx. For the language of *vv.* 11 f. cf. Isaiah xlii. 10 ff. The statement of *vv.* 9 that Jehovah has come to judge (i.e. rule) the world (תבל) while it is natural enough in the exuberant joy of 141 B.C., cannot well be explained of any other period in Jewish history.

Psalm xcvii belongs to the same period. The Lord is King, and the Mediterranean lands may rejoice, for they will no longer be required to provide fleets and armies for the conquest of Palestine. At what other period than the Maccabæan would a Jew declare that all the peoples were about to see Jehovah's glory, and that all idolaters would be disappointed?

Psalm xcviii belongs to the same age as the preceding. Jehovah has vindicated Himself, and has shewn His faithfulness to Israel. His rule will be established over all the world. There is no eschatological expectation here any more than in Daniel vii. 27.

Psalm xcix is of the same age. Jehovah is established as King in Sion, and He has shewn His superiority to

all the Palestinian peoples (עַמִּים). Note the stress laid on holiness as in Zech. xiv. 20 f. Verses 6–8 are by way of exhortation and implicit rebuke to those who in the past tribulation have questioned Jehovah's power. Moses and Samuel appear in Jer. xv. 1 as types of intercessors; and to them a reader of the Pentateuch naturally added Aaron. Incidentally the psalmist seems to meet the objection of those who have complained that Jehovah has been slow to respond to the intercession of His people. Even the famous intercessors, Moses, Aaron and Samuel, did not avert the just punishment which Jehovah inflicted, though He answered them and shewed His forgiveness.

Psalm c is of the same age. Jehovah is God, and not Olympian Zeus or his human representative. All the inhabitants of the land are now free to worship at the Temple. A comparison of *v.* 5 with Pss. cvi. 1, cvii. 1, cxviii. 1, cxxxvi will shew how the psalmists express themselves in what has become more or less stereotyped religious phraseology.

Psalm ci seems to be made up of two portions, in the first of which (*vv.* 1–4), the psalmist protests his hatred of wickedness and apostasy: in the second Jehovah is represented as insisting on the same virtues as are indicated in Ps. xv. Verse 8 implies that the extermination of the wicked is not altogether an accomplished fact, but is going on apace.

Psalm cii implies a situation such as is indicated in Ps. xxii. Verses 16–22 appear to be a later insertion made in the time of victory.

Psalm ciii belongs to the time of peace under Simon Maccabeus (cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 8 ff.).

Psalm civ, which, like Job xxxviii, sets forth the might and glory of Jehovah as manifested in creation, has nevertheless a reference to the age in which the psalmist lived. He has seen the prevalence of death—note the reference in *v.* 29 to Gen. iii. 19—and the

re-creation of life in the desolate land (cf. Ps. cxliv. 12–13; Isaiah xlix. 18–21). Verse 32, which is probably to be understood as a reference to what has actually happened (cf. Ps. cxliv. 5 ff.), implies that Jehovah's might, manifested in nature, has been directed to the suppression of the wicked adversaries of the righteous; and consequently *v.* 35, which jars on modern readers, is entirely in harmony with the general thought of the psalm.

Psalm cv, out of which together with Pss. xcvi, cvi. 47 f., the Chronicler (1 Chron. xvi. 8 ff.) has constructed an anthem in the same fashion as a modern organist, is an exhortation to Israel to see in the recent victories a confirmation of the covenant made with Abraham—a covenant manifested of old in the deliverance of Israel from Egypt. Note the reference to Abraham, who outside the Pentateuch is not mentioned in any pre-exilic passage of the Old Testament; and compare Isaiah lxiii. 10–19, which is probably to be dated between 168 and 165 B.C.

Psalm cvi has a certain resemblance to the preceding psalm, but is apparently rather earlier at least in its main portion 6–47. The psalmist feels that the recent tribulation is due to apostasy. Verses 1–5 are an introduction made up of various fragments.

Psalm cvii, to which *vv.* 33–43 are an addition, expresses the lesson that sin brings tribulation, and that Jehovah is ready to save those who appeal to Him.

Psalm cviii is made up of Ps. lvii. 7–11 and Ps. lx. 5–12.

Psalm cix is composite. Verses 1–5, 21–29 probably represent the original composition to which *vv.* 30, 31 are a somewhat later appendix. Verses 6–19 apparently refer to some definite *Jewish* oppressor of the righteous —possibly Menelaus—*v.* 20 being intended as a connecting link with the rest of the psalm. The main body of the psalm would be suitable in the mouth of many of

the *Ḥasîdîm* in the time of oppression, but the reference to lying slander suggests that it may have been understood as peculiarly suitable to the high priest Oniah.

Psalm cx, the text of which has suffered considerably, is so commonly understood as addressed to Simon, that it is scarcely necessary to repeat what has been already written on the subject. "My lord" (*v.* 1) is, of course, a title of respect, as e.g. in 1 Sam. xxv. 24–31. Verse 4, which declares that the priesthood is to be permanent, finds exact illustration in 1 Macc. xiv. 41 ff. It is declared that the priesthood is to be permanent "*because of*" (not "after the order of") Melchizedek: that is, the precedent of Melchizedek justifies the holding of the high-priesthood by one who is the civil ruler. The proviso in 1 Macc. xiv. 41 shews that the Hasmonæan high-priesthood was not accepted by the *Ḥasîdîm* without misgiving;[1] for though by the law the high priest is the head of the Jewish state, from the days of Nehemiah to those of Simon, the Jewish high priest had always been under the authority of a Gentile power. There is no reason to doubt that Simon and his brother were of priestly descent (cf. 1 Macc. ii. 1), but there is no evidence that any of them had ever officiated as priests till Jonathan was appointed high priest by Alexander Balas (1 Macc. x. 18–21); and the objection which was felt to the priestly ministration of those who had been primarily military leaders finds illustration in 1 Chron. xxii. 8. It is to be noted that the psalmist appeals to the precedent of Melchizedek in support, not of the civil authority, but of the priesthood of the person whom he addresses. Simon had been made military governor (στρατηγὸς) of the whole district

[1] The reluctance of the *Ḥasîdîm* to allow Simon to combine the offices of civil governor and high priest reappears at a later date in the demands of the Pharisees that Hyrcanus should relinquish the high-priesthood and content himself with the civil government (Josephus, *Ant.* XIII. 10, 5).

from the Ladder of Tyre to the Egyptian frontier by Tryphon acting for Antiochus the son of Alexander Balas, and the psalmist definitely refers to his military activity. For the reference to the defeated kings cf. Pss. xlviii. 4, lxviii. 12, 14, lxxvi. 12; Isaiah lii. 15.

Psalm cxi implies a time in which Jehovah's might and grace to His own faithful people have been signally manifested. He has "redeemed" His people, i.e. delivered them from oppression; and He has given them that which has been in the possession of the Gentiles. The only post-exilic period that corresponds with the description is that of the Maccabæan successes. There is no reference to the original conquest of the land of Canaan.

Psalm cxii denotes the happiness of the righteous in this life, and the discomfiture of the wicked in accordance with the current doctrine of retribution. The teaching of the psalm is obviously meant to be understood as true generally: it contains, however, hints of a time of persecution of the righteous by the wicked; for to the righteous there ariseth light *in the darkness* (i.e. in a time of danger or oppression, *v.* 4), and the wicked come to nought in impotent rage at the happiness of the righteous.

Psalm cxiii, like the preceding, has points of contact with the psalm put into the mouth of Hannah (1 Sam. ii). It is significant that the superiority of Jehovah to non-Jewish nations is brought into connexion with the lifting up of the poor and setting him with *the nobles of His people*. This may well be a reference to the Hasmonæans who, having abandoned all their possessions (1 Macc. ii. 28), had become wealthy and had been ennobled. Verse 9 is probably to be understood, not of any individual woman, but of Sion (cf. Isaiah xlix. 14–24, lxvi. 6–9).

Psalm cxiv, which recounts the wonders that Jehovah wrought for His people at the exodus from Egypt, was

nevertheless intended to have a reference to the time when it was composed. Jehovah then designed that Judah should become His sanctuary, and that Israel as a whole should be the sphere of His government. This Divine intention was not again realised in post-exilic times till the period of the Maccabæan victories. Compare *v.* 2 with Ps. lxxvi. 1 f., lx. 6 f., cviii. 7 f. The land may well writhe with fear at the presence of One Who has shewn Himself master (note that אָרוֹן is anarthrous) at the presence of the God of Jacob. The implication is that the land has defied Jehovah. The gift of water was a well-understood figure for Jehovah's care and support (cf. Jer. ii. 13; Isaiah xxxv. 6 ff., xli. 17 f., xliii. 20).

Psalm cxv celebrates a great victory achieved by Jehovah over the worshippers of idols, whose inability to accomplish anything is satirically described. It is to be noted that though the sarcasm of this psalm bears a considerable resemblance to that of the so-called Deutero-Isaiah, there is here no hint that the idolaters are the Chaldeans. Further, in the time of Cyrus there was little likelihood that the Babylonians, who are represented as panic stricken at His approach, would taunt the Jews by asking, "Where is now their God?" Moreover, in this psalm the priests ("the house of Aaron") are taking the lead in Israel, and Jehovah has shewn that He will bless them together with all those who fear the Lord. "The heavens are Jehovah's heavens, but the earth He has given to mankind." In view of the preceding satire on idolatry these words are probably to be understood in the light of Isaiah xxiv. 21 and of Ps. lxxxii (cf. Ps. xcvii. 7) as meaning that henceforth Jehovah will not tolerate the ascription of a heavenly seat to any god but Himself—it will be remembered that Olympian Zeus seems to have been known as בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם or בְּעֵל שְׁמֵיָא (cf. Daniel xi. 31, xii. 11; שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם

has been explained with great probability as an intentional alteration of בעל שמים)—and though He has given the earth to human beings, they cannot obtain the help of any super-human agency against Him or His people. Verse 17 is best explained in accordance with Isaiah xxvi. 15. The psalmist has in mind mainly the dead enemies of Jehovah, i.e. apostate Jews as well as Gentile oppressors. They are dead, and are cut off from the blessings for which the psalmist and those like-minded with him now praise Jehovah.

Psalm cxvi implies a situation similar to that which is indicated in Ps. xviii.

Psalm cxvii, with its invitation to the Gentiles to praise Jehovah, is remarkable in that it does not hint that the Gentiles are to be on an inferior footing to the Jews. In this respect it resembles the remarkable philanthropy of Isaiah lvi. 1–8, as contrasted with the vindictive nationalism of Isaiah lx. 12–14.

Psalm cxviii resembles Ps. cxv in the pre-eminence given to the house of Aaron, and its historical background is perfectly clear. There has been a signal victory over *all Gentile nations* (גוים); compare the description of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom (i.e. the kingdom of Antiochus Epiphanes) as consisting of "all peoples, nations and languages" (Daniel iii. 4, 29, v. 19, etc.). The reference to the opening of the gates finds illustration in 1 Macc. xiii. 51 (cf. Isaiah xxvi. 2), and *v.* 22 in Isaiah liii. Verse 26 *b* suggests that the psalm emanated from the Aaronite priests, in which case the blessing on him who comes in the name of the Lord is to be understood as referring to Simon.

Psalm cxix, although it was probably composed with a view to its becoming a sort of Church Catechism inculcating loyalty to God and the authority of the Jewish Law, is nevertheless not without indication of the situation in which it was composed. The author has experienced persecution, not only at the hands of

apostates of his own people, but also of princes and kings, who in this connexion must be *Gentile* kings. These oppressors have been *rebuked*, *v.* 21, but oppression is not yet at an end (*vv.* 95, 110, 133, 134, 143, 157) and the author feels himself to be like a sheep which has strayed from the protecting care of the shepherd.

The tribulation indicated in this psalm, however, appears to be less intense than that which is described in some other psalms, e.g. xxii, xliv, lxxiv; and there is no hint that the worship of Jehovah at the Temple has ceased. It is impossible to fix the date exactly, but between 165 B.C. and the first success of Simon there must have been many godly Jews in whose mouths the words of this psalm would be appropriate.

The Songs of Ascents, Psalms cxx–cxxxiv, some of which are undoubtedly pilgrim songs, imply the same historical background as the rest of the Psalter.

Psalm cxx implies a time when the righteous through the slander and treachery of Jews have been driven from their homes, some to the far north, some into the wilderness. Some deliverance, however, has been granted (*v.* 1) though the enemies of the righteous are still active (*v.* 7).

Psalm cxxi is apparently the prayer and expression of faith of one who has succeeded in visiting Jerusalem. The insistence on the fact that it is *Jehovah* Who is the true help and defence suggests a contrast with other gods, and is peculiarly suitable to the times of the Maccabæan struggle.

Psalm cxxii implies that it has not always been possible to say "Let us go into the house of the Lord". Further, it is said of Jerusalem that it is a united city (שֻׁחְבְּרָה לָהּ יַחְדָּו). This could be said after the surrender of the Gentile garrison, but scarcely before that time, at least since 332 B.C. The statement that the judgement seats

of the house of David have been at Jerusalem implies an interest in the Davidic dynasty similar to that which is found in Pss. lxxxix and cxxxii. There is no hint of war or of enmity to those who frequent the Temple.

Psalm cxxiii dates from a somewhat earlier period, possibly before 165 B.C., but probably later, since there is no mention of Gentile oppressors.

Psalm cxxiv probably dates from about 141 B.C., when the snare was broken.

Psalm cxxv may be assigned to about the same period as the preceding. The sceptre of wickedness will not *rest*, i.e. remain permanently on the lot of the righteous; so that the temptation to the righteous to act unjustly will be removed.

Psalm cxxvi describes the exuberant joy of Jerusalem at the sudden change in her fortunes, which has excited the wonder of the Gentiles. The tribulation, however, is not altogether over. The situation implied corresponds with the time of the rededication of the Temple (1 Macc. iv. 52–59). The use of the word "Then" (אָז), however, in *v.* 2 suggests that the actual composition of the psalm is a little later.

Psalm cxxvii has a heading "To Solomon". Since the remaining psalms of this group have the heading "The Song of the Ascents" only (except cxxii, cxxiv, cxxxi, and cxxxiii which have also the heading "To David"), it is not improbable that the headings "To David", "To Solomon" are later additions which from the first were understood as referring to the authorship. The ascription to Solomon is perhaps due partly to an idea that *v.* 1 has special reference to the building of the Temple, partly to an identification of "His beloved" (ידידו) with Solomon (cf. 2 Sam. xii. 25). It cannot be said that this psalm must have been composed at any one historical period, though it is entirely suitable to the Maccabæan age. It is an exhortation to live, as far as possible, a normal life in faith

in Jehovah. The language suggests a time of anxiety as to personal safety and means of livelihood owing to the opposition of enemies. Verse 3 seems to be addressed to those who imagine that in such a time of uncertainty and danger it will be better to abstain from begetting children. The rendering of the Prayer Book Version here, beautiful as it is, is not justified by the Hebrew, the sense of which becomes apparent at once if it is observed that *children* are here said to be with reference to Jehovah what is elsewhere predicated of *Israel* (e.g. in Deut. xxxii. 9; Joel ii. 17, iii. 2; Zech. ii. 12). Children are here stated to be not a "heritage"—more correctly an "allotment" (i.e. a portion of the land of the village community allotted to a man for his special care and cultivation)—given to the parents by Jehovah (though this is true), but rather that which Jehovah regards as *His own* "allotment", the object, that is to say, of His own special care. "The fruit of the womb" therefore is not to be regarded, even in the time of scarcity and danger, as a burden, but rather as a *hire*, a reward for working on in the faith and fear of God. The psalmist discourages the idea of postponing marriage till happier times come; for children begotten in youth will prove to their parents a means of defence in the efforts which are made by their enemies to ruin them. It is not improbable that the psalmist had in mind Jer. xxix. 5 ff.

Psalm cxxviii seems to be written from a standpoint similar to that of the preceding psalm.

Psalm cxxix dates from a time when the enemies of Sion and of Israel have been thwarted, and Israel has been delivered. Verse 4 states, under another figure, what is described in 1 Macc. xiii. 41—with this difference, however, that by *the wicked* we are not to understand Gentiles only, but wicked Jews.

Psalm cxxx, composed at a time of great tribulation, implies a situation e.g. like that of Ps. xxii. The tribulations are of course, in accordance with the ordinary

Jewish mode of speaking, regarded as indicating "iniquities".

Psalm cxxxi is the utterance of one who has schooled himself to the patient endurance of tribulation; tribulation which implies that Jehovah is holding aloof (cf. Ps. x. 1) just as the mother of a child who is to be weaned refuses to satisfy the child's natural longing. Verse 1, in the light of Job xlii. 3, is to be understood as a declaration that the psalmist will not endeavour to solve the mystery of suffering, the contemplation of which has brought some men almost to infidelity (cf. Pss. xxxvii, lxxiii), but will accept Jehovah's will.

Psalm cxxxii is best understood on the supposition that it was composed at a time when the Temple was in Jewish hands (i.e. after 165 B.C.), and when it accordingly seemed natural to some of those who looked for the restoration of the Jewish monarchy to hope that Jehovah, having vindicated David's purpose in planning the Temple, would also accomplish the restoration of David's dynasty predicted at the time of the exile (cf. Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15 ff.; Ezek. xxxiv. 23, xxxvii. 24). A similar hope had been expressed by the prophet Zechariah, who had declared (iii. 8) that the institution of the Jewish priesthood on a firm basis was the earnest of the future restoration of the monarchy. This psalm, however, shews an idealisation of David for which the passages just quoted furnish no parallel, but which appears in the late passage 2 Sam. vii and in Chronicles. The apostrophe of *v.* 8, which is probably founded on Num. x. 33 ff. (also quoted in Ps. lxviii. 1), appears strange in post-exilic literature; it is, however, evident from 2 Macc. ii. 4 ff. that it was popularly believed that the ark was still in existence, and that at the restoration of Jewish national life its whereabouts would be revealed. Perhaps the Chronicler, who so greatly elaborated the account of the bringing up of the ark given in 2 Sam., did so with the idea of giving what he

regarded as the ritual appropriate to such an occasion when it should arise. That the hiding of the ark should have been ascribed to Jeremiah—and that in face of the prophet's own words in iii. 16—shews to what an extent acceptance of the Priestly Code had made men incapable of understanding the older prophets. The somewhat obscure statement in *v.* 6 of this psalm is perhaps to be understood as follows: the psalmist, who entertains hopes of the discovery of the ark, though neither he nor anyone else knows its whereabouts, argues that, in view of its ancient history, the ark might yet be found where no one would think of looking for it; for in the days of Samuel Israel[1] had heard of Jehovah's dwelling place[2] where no one would have expected to find it, viz. in Ephraim[3] (cf. Ps. lxxviii. 67), and afterwards it had been found in a still more unlikely place, viz. in uncultivated forest.[4] There is, therefore, a real

[1] The first person plural denotes Israel as a whole in Ps. cvi. 6, Isaiah lxiv. 3, or rather perhaps Judah excluding Samaria.

[2] For מִשְׁכְּנוֹת we should probably read the singular, מִשְׁכֵּנֶת, as the following suffix shews.

[3] Ephrathah or Ephrath here, as in Gen. xxxv. 16, 19, xlviii. 7, clearly means Ephraim. In view of 1 Sam. x. 2, Jer. xxxi. 15, the statement that Ephrath is Bethlehem in the above-quoted passages is an incorrect gloss; for Rachel's tomb was certainly believed to be near Ramah. How the name Ephrath came to be applied to the district of Bethlehem (as in Ruth i. 2, iv. 11; Micah v. 2) is unknown. Possibly during the exile, when the original landowners of Bethlehem, who were probably strong supporters of the Davidic dynasty, had been transported to Babylonia, there was a migration to Bethlehem of Ephraimites from Samaria (cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 24).

[4] שְׂדֵי יער is clearly a reference to Kirjath-Jearim, where the ark remained for three months in the house of Obed-Edom the Gittite, whose name and *provenance*, *pace* the Chronicler who makes him a Levite, imply that he was a foreigner. The psalmist, in modifying the name of Kirjath-Jearim, probably desired to emphasise the significance of that name. In Isaiah xxix. 17, a late passage, *forest* (יער) is contrasted with the *fruit plantation*. One would not have expected, the psalmist implies, to find the ark in Ephraim, even though that name suggests *fruitfulness*; still less would one have expected to find it in uncultivated forest.

possibility that Jehovah may visibly manifest His presence as of old. The thought of the *Temple* as Jehovah's footstool—in contrast with Isaiah lxvi. 1—occurs again in Ps. xcix. 5 and also in 1 Chron. xxviii. 2. The language of the latter passage suggests that it is a reminiscence of this psalm. The hope expressed for the priests is in harmony with the account of 1 Macc. iv. 42, and the association with the priests of "saints" (*Ḥasîdîm*) is very significant. The connexion of ideas in this psalm is occasionally somewhat obscure; but the thought seems to be that David made possible a place for Jehovah's dwelling, and therefore for his sake Jehovah is entreated to be gracious to his posterity. Jehovah's "Anointed" (*v.* 10) seems to be David himself. The verse should probably be understood as though there were a verb in the first part—"for Thy servant David's sake *be gracious*; yea, reject not Thine Anointed"; the reference being to David's prayer as given in 2 Sam. vii. 25–29; 1 Kings viii. 25.[1] For *v.* 13 compare Zech. i. 17. Verse 16 is a repetition of *v.* 9, with the significant modification that the priests are to be clothed with "salvation" (ישע) implying victory over enemies. In view of the fact that the psalmist, who himself is evidently one of the *Ḥasîdîm*, has no hostile feeling towards the priests, while he ardently desires the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, we may probably date the psalm in the days of the Maccabæan success, but before Simon had quite clearly shewn that he intended to combine civil government with the high-priesthood; therefore before the composition of Ps. cx.

Psalm cxxxiii celebrates the blessing of the dwelling together of those who are brethren. Evidently by

[1] An interpretation which may possibly suggest itself is that by Jehovah's Anointed the psalmist means the actual heir to David's throne who is claiming to be recognised as such. It is conceivable that the psalmist considered that one whom he regarded as *de jure* king was thereby constituted Jehovah's Anointed, even though he had not actually received unction. In any case משיח *unctus* cannot mean *unguendus*.

brethren we are to understand all *Jews* (cf. Neh. v. 5, 8; Isaiah lxvi. 5, 20). Hitherto they have been scattered, but they are now able to return to their homes (cf. Isaiah liv, lxvi. 20). To describe the happy result of this homecoming, the psalmist employs a remarkable figure: it is, he says, like the anointing oil on Aaron's head. It is not quite clear whether the point of comparison is the delightful fragrance of the oil of unction or its result in constituting the recipient high priest. Probably the first of these alternatives is correct. For the use of ordinary oil as an unguent was considered almost a necessity, only to be dispensed with in mourning (cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 2; Ruth iii. 3; Micah vi. 15); and the wealthy used costly unguents which were evidently beyond the reach of the majority of the people (Amos vi. 6). Such unguents would in the case of the wealthy be perfumed (cf. Cant. i. 12), and the oil of unction prescribed for Aaron and his sons, the recipe for which is given in Ex. xxx. 23–25, was evidently regarded as the choicest perfume of its kind. The psalmist, with a taste decidedly more oriental than western, pictures Aaron's delight in the sweet perfume which was bestowed upon him so liberally that it not only went down to his beard, but even to the collar of his garment! This figure is then followed by another which compares the national restoration to the night-mist supposed to come from Hermon, which refreshes the vegetation in Sion. It is not improbable that the mention of Hermon here is suggested by the fact that Jews from the vicinity of Hermon can now come to Jerusalem (cf. Ps. xlii. 6, lxxxix. 12). At Sion Jehovah has ordained perpetual blessing, viz. life, by which the psalmist means the absence of violent and premature death (cf. Isaiah xxv. 7–8, lxv. 19 ff.). The date is therefore about 141 B.C.

Psalm cxxxiv appears to be a versicle and response similar to "The Lord be with you", "And with thy spirit" of the Book of Common Prayer. Verses 1 and 2

are apparently addressed by the worshipper to the Temple ministers, not necessarily priests, and *v.* 3 is their blessing in response (compare Ruth ii. 4, and for the priestly blessing Lev. ix. 22; Num. vi. 24–26). The psalm might have been composed at any time when the Temple services were highly esteemed. That this was the case in the days of Ben Sira is evident from Eccles. l and the same would be true after the Maccabæan rededication of the Temple.

Psalm cxxxv, which in its latter part, *vv.* 15 ff., is based on Ps. cxv. 4 ff., is marked out as a late composition, not only linguistically, but by its references to the Pentateuchal history. It insists on Israel's unique relation to Jehovah, and on Jehovah's superiority to all other gods not only in respect of His power as manifested in nature, but also in His superiority to heathen kings. Verse 14 is particularly significant in regard to the date; Jehovah will now shew a changed policy towards His servants—i.e. He will no longer bring retribution upon them—and He Himself, not a heathen king, will judge, that is to say will rule His people. The psalmist is evidently a partisan of the Hasmonæans, and does not desire a revival of the dynasty of David.

Psalm cxxxvi, which seems to be in parts based on the preceding, is, like 1 Chron. xvi. 8–36 and various other psalms, a good example of the way in which Hebrew writings were composed. It celebrates Jehovah's greatness and mercy as manifested in the past, but brings that greatness and mercy down to the present in the deliverance of Jehovah's people from humiliation at the hand of their enemies. The phrase "the God of heaven" appears first in Neh. i. 4 f., ii. 4; Jonah i. 9 (in each case where the speaker is in the midst of idolaters), and it seems to have been more particularly current in the second century B.C., when the Jews were surrounded by heathen (cf. Dan. ii. 18, 19, 44; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 33; Ezra i. 2, v. 11 ff.).

Psalm cxxxvii was evidently composed at a time of tribulation, and the date of this tribulation can be inferred from the psalm itself. It is to be noted that the Babylonian captivity is spoken of *in the past tense*, and it is not implied that the Jews are still wailing by the rivers of Babylon.[1] Now the kings of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar and his successors, appear in the book of Daniel as thin disguises for Antiochus Epiphanes: and since, in Isaiah xiii–xiv, prophetic compositions of the sixth century B.C. (viz. xiii. 14–22, xiv. 3–23) are found embedded in a much later apocalyptic description of Jehovah's judgement on the ungodly,[2] we may conclude that by the second century B.C. Babylon had come to be used (as in Rev. xvii, xviii) as a type of the kingdom of the world opposed to Jehovah and His people. A reference to the Babylonian captivity would therefore be peculiarly suitable in the mind of those who, because of the oppression of the king of the great Asiatic empire, were exiles from their home. The words "How shall we sing Jehovah's song on foreign soil" are not so much applicable to the exiles in Babylon (for Babylonians who wanted Jewish music would doubtless have been contented with *secular* music) as to those who felt that they were cut off from worship at the Temple or at the synagogues where the praise of Jehovah was especially appropriate. The psalmist swears that he will never forget Jerusalem, and that he will put Jerusalem before any happiness that can come to him elsewhere. Then follows the curse on Edom which from its intensity shews that it is Edom that is the *immediate* cause of the tribulation suffered by the psalmist and those in whose name he writes. Now Edomites are not mentioned in the book of Kings either among the levies raised in

[1] For this use of the first person plural to describe not what the actual author has experienced, but the experiences of Israel in its past history, cf. Ps. cxxxii. 6.

[2] See *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah*, p. 40.

Palestine by the Chaldeans at the time of Jehoiakim's rebellion (2 Kings xxiv. 2), nor at the taking of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. The only hint of opposition to the Jews from Edom in the early days of the captivity is in Ezekiel xxv. 12–14,[1] where the denunciation of Edom is not so violent as that of Ammon (*ibid.* 1 ff.). Indeed, with the book of Ezekiel before us, we should have expected the psalmist's imprecation to have been, "Remember, O Jehovah, the children of *Ammon*, etc." The bitterness felt against Edom at the time of the captivity was probably due to the fact that Edom has not helped the Jews against Nebuchadnezzar, as was apparently expected (Jer. xxvii), but had taken advantage of the Jewish Exile to seize some of the land of the Jews (cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 24). At all events in the second century B.C. the northern frontier of Edom was near Hebron. The first hint of hatred of the Edomites is in Mal. i. 2–5 (probably composed not long before the appointment of Nehemiah); but here no definite charge is brought against the Edomites, and it is noteworthy that Edomites do not appear among the opponents of Nehemiah. In certain passages, however, which on other grounds may be assigned to the late post-exilic period, we find that Edom is the object of the Jews' bitterest rancour, viz. Isaiah lxiii. 1 (if the reading "from Edom" is here correct) and the present passage (cf. Pss. lx. 8, 9, cviii. 9, 10); and the reason for this may be found in 1 Macc. iv. 15, v. 65. The Edomites were more closely associated with the Jews than were the other Palestinian nations, and Jews dwelling in Judah, who fled from the tyranny of Antiochus, must have felt intensely the help given by the Edomites to the soldiers of Antiochus. In *v.* 8 the psalmist apostrophises the population of Babylon, i.e. of the Seleucid

[1] Jeremiah xlix. 7–22, and the closely allied Obadiah, at any rate in the form in which we now have them, are much later than the time of Jeremiah.

Empire. For the passive השדודה the active השודדה, "that doest violence", should probably be read. Obviously the wish that the children should be dashed against *the crag* (cf. 2 Chron. xxv. 12) was not written in Babylonia. The curse would, however, be appropriate if the psalmist had in view not only Edomites but the Greeks and other Gentiles whose cause the Edomites had espoused.

Psalm cxxxviii is entirely suitable to the days of the Hasmonæan successes. The psalmist declares that he will give Jehovah thanks in defiance[1] of the gods, inasmuch as Jehovah has added to the fame which He had of old by the magnitude of what He has brought about. He has answered the psalmist's prayer, and though it is implied that the antagonism of the enemy is not yet altogether at an end (*v.* 7), Jehovah's servants can trust Him to deliver them. There is even a likelihood that Gentile kings will be brought to acknowledge Jehovah (cf. Daniel iv. 37; Ps. lxxii. 10 ff.).

Psalm cxxxix is not without hints of the age in which it was composed, though most of it is of general application. The psalmist has in view those who are definitely enemies of Jehovah, and who are guilty of bloodshed; and whom he therefore regards it as his duty to consider his own personal enemies. The only period when there was an open rebellion against Jehovah on the part of Jews was the Maccabæan.

Psalm cxl is a prayer to be delivered from violent and wicked men who are clearly Jews. They have slandered the righteous and planned to destroy them. The situation is that which is implied in many parts of the Psalter.

Psalm cxli. The language of this psalm is obscure, and the text in places is almost certainly corrupt. The psalmist's petition that his prayer may be *established* (תכון, i.e. offered regularly without intermission) before Jehovah as incense, and the lifting up of his hands

[1] For this sense of נגד cf. Ps. xxiii. 5.

as the evening oblation, suggests that the sacrificial worship of the Temple is not being offered; and this implies a date between 168 and 165 B.C. Verses 3 and 4 express a desire to avoid any utterance or action incompatible with the religion of Jehovah—a natural aspiration on the part of a godly Jew at a time of widespread apostasy.

Psalm cxlii is the utterance of one sorely persecuted, and perhaps actually in prison. The situation implied resembles that of the author of Ps. xxii.

Psalm cxliii implies a similar situation.

Psalm cxliv is certainly not homogeneous, *vv.* 12–15, which describe a happy and peaceful land, being certainly a fragment of another poem. This, as any reference Bible will shew, has much in common with other psalms, especially Ps. xviii; but whether it is directly founded on Ps. xviii, or both psalms have been borrowed from a common source, it is difficult to say. It is evident that those in whose name the psalmist speaks have had a considerable measure of military success, especially over the peoples[1] of Palestine: the foreign power, however, is still unsubdued. The participle in *v.* 10 should probably be understood as having a past reference; but in any case the mention of David is significant, and as there is no reference to the house of Aaron, it is probable that the author belonged to the *Ḥasîdîm*. The psalm would very well fit the time of Judas' victory over Nicanor.

Psalm cxlv was evidently composed at a time of peace, when, however, the memory of a terrible war was still fresh (*vv.* 6–12). Jehovah has assumed the sovereignty, and His kingdom will be a permanent one (cf. Daniel iv. 34, vii. 14, 27). The mention of the "saints" (*Ḥasîdîm*) in *v.* 10 is significant. For the date compare 1 Macc. xiv. 4–15.

[1] עמי ("my people") is clearly a mere blunder for עמים, as in Ps. xviii. 47.

Psalm cxlvi belongs to the same period as the preceding.

Psalm cxlvii, which celebrates the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the return of those who had been driven away, is of the same date. The beautiful description of Jehovah's might in the realm of nature is very probably founded on some older poetical literature.[1]

Psalm cxlviii is of the same date as the preceding. Verse 14 indicates the victory of the "saints" (חסידים). It is to be noted here that in the peace following victory the bitterness against the enemy has passed away. The reference to the kings of the earth and other people (*v.* 11) reminds us of the kindly spirit which finds utterance in Isaiah lv, and is in sharp contrast with the vindictiveness in the psalm which follows.

Psalm cxlix expresses the joy of a recent victory, before the hostility to those who have recently been enemies has died down. The situation implied corresponds with the triumphs of the Maccabees in 141 B.C.

Psalm cl, which forms a fitting doxology to the whole Psalter, was composed, as the mention of Jehovah's mighty acts (*v.* 2) shews, in a time of victory. The date is therefore not earlier than that of the psalms immediately preceding, and is probably a few years later, possibly after the compilation of the whole Psalter, though the fact that it is used as a doxology to the whole does not preclude the possibility of a date of composition before the compilation.

It has been stated above that **Psalms i** and **ii** were evidently not originally part of the collection represented by book I, but were probably prefixed later to the whole Psalter; and if this be the case, the date to which we assign these two psalms will probably be the *terminus ad quem* for the compilation of the Psalter. Since the second of these psalms clearly refers to some

[1] It is remarkable that the Hebrew appreciation of the beauty of nature dates from the Greek period, e.g. Job xxxviii, xxxix; Ecclus. xliii.

definite historical situation, while the first is of a more general character, it will be well to consider it first.

Psalm ii is remarkable in that, unlike any other psalm in the whole Psalter, it implies a *recrudescence of hostility to Jehovah on the part of those who have in some sort been subject to Him and to His anointed ruler*. The Gentiles with their kings and rulers take counsel against Jehovah and His anointed king, saying, "Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast away their cords from us". We must therefore look for a period when a Jewish ruler, *who to some extent has had authority over non-Jewish peoples*, finds this authority defied. We may find the requisite historical background in the events of the reign of Antiochus Sidetes, who demanded of Simon the payment of 500 talents for Joppa and Gazara and a like sum as indemnity for the Jews' depredations.[1] When Simon tried to bargain, Antiochus ordered the governor of the Philistine coast to move a force into Judæa. Simon's son, John Hyrcanus, repulsed the Philistine force, but Antiochus besieged Jerusalem which was obliged to capitulate before April 134 B.C. Although neither Simon, who was murdered shortly before the capitulation of Jerusalem, nor John Hyrcanus, who succeeded his father, were officially styled king, such a title had at least been hinted at by a partisan of Simon, who composed Ps. cx, in which he was compared to Melchizedek (the King of Salem); there is, therefore, little difficulty in supposing that a few years later a Jewish nationalist did not scruple to apply the title either to Simon or to Hyrcanus. By the "kings of the earth" and "the rulers" we are perhaps especially to understand in addition to Antiochus Sidetes, Cendebæus, Ptolemy and Zeno (see Josephus, *Ant.* XIII, 7, 8). It is probable that the whole psalm is put into the mouth of John Hyrcanus. Verse 6, which in the Masoretic text

[1] See E. R. Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, pp. 110 ff.

can only refer to Jehovah, should probably be corrected after the LXX so as to read, "But I am constituted king upon His holy hill of Sion". This correction restores unity to the psalm, *v.* 7 following naturally upon *v.* 6. In the last two verses the text is corrupt.

Psalm i, with its praise of the law and calm statement of the Jewish doctrine of retribution, unlike Pss. xxxvii and lxxiii, seems to have been composed at a time of general peace and prosperity, when there was nothing in the circumstances of the Jews to cause the orthodox doctrine to be questioned.

There is, therefore, no psalm which from its historical allusions need be assigned to a date later than 134 B.C. and the compilation of the whole Psalter may well have been completed within a few years of this date. Having regard to the fact that many of the psalms represent the sentiments of the *Ḥasîdîm*, or, to give them their later name, the Pharisees, and had their origin in synagogues, while others as clearly reflect the aspirations of partisans of the Hasmonæan high priests, who were of course Sadducees, the collection of these into one book, and that, as may be inferred from 1 Chron. xv, a book used in Temple worship, can only have taken place when there was close friendship between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. This was the case in the earlier years of Hyrcanus' high-priesthood, but came to an end later (Josephus, *Ant.* XIII, 10, § 5). The exact date of the quarrel is not known, and it may well have taken place only a few years after Hyrcanus' accession, whom Josephus states to have been a disciple of the Pharisees. In any case, in the earlier part of the high-priesthood of Hyrcanus, the ecclesiastical politics of the Jews were such that the Pharisees, whose influence is said by Josephus to have been very great, would have been in a position to induce those who were responsible for the musical part of the Temple services to accept for use in the Temple collections of hymns which, from their

use in the synagogues, had become part and parcel of the popular devotion.

The introduction of English hymns into popular worship has followed a somewhat similar course. In the early part of the nineteenth century Anglicans in general looked askance at hymns, which with but few exceptions they regarded as savouring of dissent: yet now compositions by the Wesleys, Toplady and others, are included in every Anglican collection of hymns.

We may, therefore, take the year 130 B.C. *more or less* as the date of the compilation of the Psalter. Now the grandson of Ben Sira, who translated his grandfather's book, arrived in Egypt in 132 B.C. But he does not tell us that he found "the law and the prophets and the other books" existing in Greek when he arrived—though this would be true in the case of the law—but when he published his own translations; and this was not until a long time after his arrival in Egypt.[1] Resemblances between the Psalms and Ecclesiasticus are capable of explanation on the supposition that they are reminiscences of current religious language, without postulating direct borrowing on the part of either.

There is, therefore, no valid reason against the theory that the Psalter as we have it, is a hymn-book, or rather a collection of hymn-books, belonging to the Maccabæan age.

[1] For the impossible *συγχρονίσας* it is probable that we should read, as was suggested by Robertson Smith, *συχνὸν ἐγχρονίσας*. The translators of the R.V. have *tacitly corrected* the Greek, and have given a rendering probable in itself, but one which requires emendation, of the text.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MESSIANIC HOPE

THE object of this paper is to trace out the origin and growth of the Messianic hope as it existed among the Jews at the time of our Saviour's birth, and in order to do this I propose to confine myself in the main to the canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament as accepted by the Jews. It is important to discriminate between what the Jewish Church regarded as Scripture and writings which, though they may have influenced later Jewish thought, and even, to some extent, Christian thought, have never been regarded as canonical by the Jews. Thus whereas Daniel is included in the Jewish canon, howbeit in the third division, Enoch is excluded; Chronicles is accepted, Jubilees outside.

And here at the outset it will be well that I should state to what dates in the main I refer the Scriptures to which it will be necessary for me to refer in the course of this investigation. I regard the *Jahvistic* document of the Pentateuch (J) as compiled in Judah by the Hebronite party shortly after Josiah's closing of the local sanctuaries. No one can doubt that it contains much that is very ancient, but a date between 621 and 604 B.C. is probably the time of its compilation.

The *Elohistic* document (E) was apparently drawn up for the somewhat mixed population in the province of Samaria between 670 or thereabouts and the end of the seventh century. The work of compilation may have been going on at the same time as the compilation of J.

The redaction of J and E into JE is probably to be assigned to the years immediately following the abolition of the kingdom of Judah in 586 B.C. and the book of

Deuteronomy (D), law, introduction, and appendices, to a somewhat later period in the same century, probably between 550 and 520 B.C.

The *Law of Holiness* (H) in its original form belongs apparently to the school of Ezekiel shortly after 573 B.C.

The first draft of the *Priestly Code* (P) may probably be dated between 520 and 445 B.C. and its publication combined with the other documents of the Pentateuch in 433 B.C., though it subsequently received some additions.

The book of Isaiah I regard as not only having been combined with later prophetic utterances at a later date, viz. the time of the expected fall of Babylon, but re-edited and enlarged in the second half of the second century B.C. with a view to the situation in that century. Some of the other prophetical books, notably Micah, were apparently re-edited and enlarged at the same time.

It is unfortunate, though almost inevitable, that scholars, in discussing the date of some particular book on which they have been commenting, have often accepted the commonly received dates of other books without critical investigation. For example, those who have been discussing the date of the Psalms or of the book of Jubilees have accepted 300 B.C. or thereabouts as the date of Chronicles. This theory of so early a date for Chronicles (which was originally due to the fact that the Chronicler's list of high priests (Neh. xii. 11–22) ends with Jaddua, whom Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8, § 4) mentions as high priest in 332 B.C.) has very seriously affected the view of the dates of some other portions of the Old Testament. I must therefore state briefly on what grounds I regard it as altogether untenable. It is unnecessary to prove what is admitted, viz. that Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah originally formed one book, and that the Chronicler incorporated with his work a book of Ezra and a book of Nehemiah. The last apparently was known to Ben Sira; and although it has undergone

some modification in the process of its incorporation by the Chronicler into his book, I personally see no grave reason for doubting its genuineness.

With Ezra, however, the case is different. Ezra is not mentioned in the list of the worthies of Israel in Ecclus. xliv ff. and the omission is extremely significant in view of Ben Sira's intense reverence for the Law. He would never have omitted the name of Ezra if what is ascribed to Ezra in the book which bears his name had been a matter of common knowledge when he wrote. This would make the book of Ezra later than, say, 200 B.C.

But the Chronicler wrote at a time when the book of Daniel had come to be accepted as giving a true account of the transportation of Jews in the days of Jehoiachin, or, as the book of Daniel puts it, Jehoiakim.

For the Chronicler (Ezra i. 7 ff.) represents Cyrus as giving back the sacred vessels which "Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem and had put in the house of his gods". This statement is in direct contradiction to 2 Kings xxiv. 13, which says that the sacred vessels were *broken up* by Nebuchadnezzar, and it undoubtedly rests upon the story of Belshazzar's feast in Daniel v. The detail of the sacred vessels in Daniel v was suggested by the fact that both Menelaus, the apostate high priest, and Antiochus Epiphanes made away with the sacred vessels (2 Macc. iv. 32, v. 16). Further, there are some passages in Chronicles—*not* the accounts of battles —where it is difficult not to suppose that the Chronicler is drawing upon his own experiences or on what he has heard from eye-witnesses. Thus the Chronicler's account of the purification and rededication of the Temple in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxix) is not based upon anything in the book of Kings, but it bears a resemblance to the account of the purification and rededication of the Temple by the Maccabees on December 25, 165 B.C. I do not mean that the Chronicler is *quoting*

1 Macc. iv, but that the event there described may well have suggested to him the sort of things which, holding his view of the past, he would have expected to be done in the days of Hezekiah. Lack of time forbids me to discuss the matter further, but there are other considerations which point in the same direction.

But the assignment of Chronicles to a date late in the second century B.C. removes one important bulwark from those who maintain an early date for the book of Psalms. The theory of the composition of the psalms, which I have already published and which I am prepared to defend, is that the three main divisions of the Psalter, viz. book I, books II and III and books IV and V were all compiled in the second century B.C., the first two collections being originally *synagogue* collections subsequently taken over by the Temple. I believe that book I emanated from a Judæan synagogue (or synagogues) and that the Elohistic recension of books II and III (with the exception of Pss. lxxxiv–lxxxix) is due to this collection of Psalms having been written down in a district in which the population was largely heathen, and where there was a constant danger of profanation of the sacred name by the heathen. The psalms of course presuppose a religious phraseology, and this phraseology has its roots in the pre-exilic period. Further, there are some psalms, such as xxiii, which might have been composed at any date of a period covering several centuries, but *wherever there is an unmistakable reference to some historical background this reference can be explained without doing any violence to the language from the known history of the second century* B.C. True, history repeats itself, but where in a single book we find a number of references which, if explained of the past must be referred to several quite different periods, and if explained of the actual period of the compilation can all be readily referred to one period, it is difficult not to feel that the latter explanation is correct.

One other point must be made clear before we can proceed to an investigation into the origin and development of the Messianic hope, viz. what do we mean by Messianic? The word *Messiah* is so rooted in the English language, like the word *Jehovah*, that it is undesirable to change it. As a matter of fact, however, it is due to a wrong attempt to Hebraise the Greek form Μεσσίας. Μεσσίας is a Græcised form not of the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ (in which case the final ח would probably have been represented by ε) but of the corresponding *Aramaic* adjective with the definite ending, i.e. מְשִׁיחָא, or in the form in which the word was probably pronounced in south-western Aramaic in the first century B.C., מְשִׁיחָא, i.e. "*The* anointed One". *Anointing* in almost all the Old Testament, as applied to definite persons, is limited to those who are to *rule*, viz. *kings*, and in the *Priestly Code* to the high priest, who takes the place of the king, and to the Aaronite priests who with him form a ruling class. In 1 Kings xix. 16, indeed, Elijah is bidden to anoint Elisha, but the subsequent account makes no mention of this anointing, and a later editor may have inferred it from the anointing of Hazael. The late author of Ps. cv, however, uses *anointed* in parallelism with *prophets*, but only in a passage when he is referring to patriarchs whom he evidently regards as in some sense rulers, or as foreshadowing the rulers of Israel.

By the term *Messiah* then we understand a head or ruler of Israel whose office has divine sanction and support. It is scarcely necessary to say that all passages implying a *hope* of such a Messiah (head or ruler) must have been composed when no such head or ruler was in existence—"for what a man seeth why doth he yet hope for?"

It was natural that those who looked forward to the rule of one governing with divine approval should

anticipate many temporal blessings as the result of his rule. We ourselves pray for our own government that all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavours upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety may be established among us for all generations; and the Old Testament abounds in passages expressing the same glowing hope.

But we have no right to call a passage *Messianic* simply because it gives expression to a hope that there is a good time coming, *unless* that good time is regarded as brought about by one who is the Lord's Anointed.

Our inquiry then must follow these lines: When did there first arise in Israel a hope of a divinely appointed ruler under whom Israel would find peace and blessing, and what sort of anointed ruler did Israel expect?

In this inquiry it is necessary to work forward and not backward. If we start from a certain modern belief and proceed to trace it backward there is a great danger of losing sight of the true historical meaning of passages. The right way to study the growth of an idea is to start from the time when, so far as can be ascertained, it did not exist, and to discover the earliest evidence of it, working forward from that point. In dealing with every passage of Scripture the question to ask ourselves is this—What meaning should we have put upon this if we had only read such passages as are admitted to be earlier? If we start with the New Testament and work backwards with the conviction that each passage which we label *Messianic* is by way of amplification and definition of some earlier passage, it will not be difficult to convince ourselves, as our forefathers convinced themselves, that the germ of the Messianic hope existed in the Garden of Eden. And since this view has been widely held in the past, although the story of the Garden of Eden as we know it is probably not part of the earliest written portion of the Old Testament, it

may be well to begin by considering it and the other passages of the Pentateuch which are deemed *Messianic*. Whatever was the original form of the story of the Garden of Eden—and the story as we have it, crude as it is, has evidently undergone very considerable modification from the original—the utmost that can be deduced from the words addressed to the woman is that between the *descendants* of the serpent (whoever they may be) and the descendants of the woman there will be perpetual enmity, but that on the whole the latter will come out superior. I need scarcely point out that nowhere in the Old Testament are the enemies of Israel or of the people of God spoken of as "the seed of the serpent". Indeed the only allusion in the Old Testament to the story of Gen. iii is in Isaiah lxv. 25 and perhaps in Ps. civ. 29; and here there is no hint of any Messiah, and physical death at the end of a long life is not regarded as a penalty for sin.

Another group of passages wrongly labelled Messianic are those in which it is said that all nations will be blessed in the seed of Abraham and his descendants. Here, however, in the Hebrew the verb is always reflexive, and the meaning (which can be seen at once by a reference to Gen. xlviii. 20) is simply that the descendants of the patriarchs will be so prosperous (prosperity being regarded as a mark of the divine favour) that when the nations of the world desire to give a blessing the best form of benediction will be "May God make thee as prosperous as He has made the seed of Abraham".

We come then to Gen. xlix, the famous passage in the blessing of Judah, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the obedience of the people be". I quote from the text of the R.V., but the rendering "till Shiloh come" is impossible, for we only know Shiloh as the name of a place. As the text stands—and the reading שִׁלֹה for שִׁילֹה, which is

implied by the LXX rendering, is most improbable—the only possible translation is that which is given in the margin of the R.V. "Until he come to Shiloh". This is obscure, but not altogether impossible. For at the date which, on quite other grounds, I have postulated for J, Judah, though part of the empire of Assyria, was still governed by a native dynasty, and there seemed no likelihood of this dynasty coming to an end. On the other hand Northern Israel had ceased to be a kingdom a century before, and had now become one or more Assyrian provinces. Further, as we know from Jer. vii. 12, 14, Shiloh, which was probably the oldest sanctuary of Levi as a secular tribe, and which would therefore be regarded sympathetically by Judah (which like Levi was one of the Leah tribes), had suffered a disaster which in the days of Jeremiah was comparatively recent. We can only *conjecture*, but the conjecture may be hazarded, that in the peace and prosperity of Josiah's reign after the fear of a Scythian invasion had passed away, certain people in Judah cherished the hope that Judah might recover jurisdiction over Samaria and thus regain Shiloh, which had been a Levitical sanctuary when Jerusalem was still in the hands of the Jebusites. Those who see a Messianic reference in Gen. xlix. 10 are faced with the historic difficulty that the sceptre *had* departed from Judah ages before anyone came who was in any sense regarded as the Messiah.

The remaining passage of the Pentateuch which has been regarded as Messianic is Num. xxiv. 17. This, however, is merely a prediction put into the mouth of Balaam that a ruler will arise in Israel (such as David) who will subdue Moab and Edom.

The celebrated passage concerning the prophet in Deut. xviii is an assurance that God will not leave His people without prophetic guidance. It is absolutely clear that not one single prophet is meant, but a succession of prophets.

Neither Joshua nor Judges furnish passages which could be called Messianic. When we come to the book of Samuel, however, we find in the so-called "Song of Hannah" (1 Sam. ii. 10) this statement, "The Lord shall judge the ends of the earth; and he shall give strength unto his king, and exalt the horn of his anointed". It is scarcely necessary to say that the psalm in which these words occur is absolutely unsuitable in the mouth of a woman in Hannah's position. It is a song of victory, not over a spiteful rival wife, but over those who are regarded as opponents of God and of his anointed ruler. This psalm, which has been put into the mouth of Hannah by an editor who was contented with the applicability of a few words, really belongs to the age of the Psalms, and may be considered with them.

In the story of the institution of the kingdom we have two points of view; according to one the institution of a kingdom is a good thing, of which Jehovah's prophets approved. This agrees with the point of view in Deut. xvii. The other, which agrees with the Priestly Code, regards the institution of a kingdom as an act of apostasy against God whose priests ought to be chief rulers in Israel.

While the monarchy lasted there is no indication that anyone expected a future anointed king to be in any sense the deliverer of Israel. In view of the fact that Isaiah vii. 14, the Isaianic authorship of which there is no reason to doubt, has been held to be Messianic this statement needs justification. One thing, however, is certain; the sign *Immanuel*, like that of *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*, is intended to give to Ahaz a date when Isaiah's prediction would be verified, just as the signs of Hosea's children, *Jezreel*, *Lo-ruhamah*, and *Lo-ammi* are intended to give dates for the successive disasters culminating in the utter ruin of Israel.

There is good reason to suppose that long after the

time of Isaiah, when men were eagerly ransacking the ancient prophets to find some message of consolation and hope, it was felt that no one had been born in whose days it had been made specially evident that God was with Israel, and that the fulfilment of the Immanuel prophecy must be still future. This supposition is probably answerable for the composition of the late passage in Micah v. 2 ff. Isaiah ix, which in its most natural interpretation describes a deliverance and a victory *already* realised, is not related to anything in the history of Isaiah's time, and linguistic considerations also, as in Micah v. 2 ff., imply a date much later than the time of Isaiah.

In Judah, so long as the monarchy lasted, the people generally seem to have been contented with the dynasty of David, and there is no indication of a hope of some heroic king in the future. True, Isaiah says that the house of David had wearied men, but this does not seem to apply to the rank and file of the nation. For when Amaziah fell the victim of a conspiracy, the people made the son of Amaziah king, and a similar thing happened after the murder of Amon. The prophet Jeremiah, indeed, felt that the end of the Davidic dynasty was at hand. He declared that Shallum (Jehoahaz), who had been carried off by Necoh, would never again see his native country, that his successor Jehoiakim would be buried with the burial of an ass without mourning, that though his successor Jehoiakim were as the signet on Jehovah's right hand Jehovah would pluck him thence, and that he might well be registered as childless since no descendant of his would ever sit upon the throne of David. Those who maintain that the Christ is "the son of David" would do well to pay attention to Jer. xxii. 30.

But when the final blow had come, and Zedekiah the last king of Judah had been carried to Babylon, Jeremiah —or one of his disciples, it matters not which—who

all his life had been prophesying of plucking up, breaking down, destroying and overthrowing, turned comforter, and began to speak of building and planting; Jer. xxiii. 5–8, familiar to most people as being read for the epistle on the last Sunday after Trinity, is of first-rate importance, for it is the earliest passage in the Old Testament predicting a king who shall be the restorer of Israel which is definitely referred to at a later date. Here we have the anticipation that from the root of the cut-down tree of the dynasty of David, a shoot, a sucker, will come up, who will not only restore the monarchy, but will govern in righteousness. It is expected that under him Judah will be "saved", i.e. made free from foreign dominion, and Israel, i.e. the province of Samaria, will dwell safely, that is without fear of molestation. It is not said, though it is *implied* that the king who will reign over Judah when independence is recovered will also be king over Northern Israel. In any case the prophecy is *political* and does not refer to "salvation", as a Christian understands the word.

The words of Jeremiah evidently made a great impression on the population of Judah left behind after the transportation of 586 B.C. Zechariah (519 B.C.) makes it clear that he hopes that his prediction will be realised in Zerubbabel (Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12 *corrected text*). It is noteworthy that Haggai also (ii. 23) expresses the hope that what Jeremiah has said with reference to Jehoiakim will be reversed in Zerubbabel.

But it is necessary to go back a few years and consider what hopes were entertained among the exiles in Babylon, and the population of the province of Samaria, who, though to some extent of mixed race, had come to regard themselves as Israelite. Among the former, those who remained loyal to the religion of Jehovah were greatly influenced by the prophet Ezekiel, and he as a Zadokite priest attached to the royal Temple at

Jerusalem, felt the same sort of loyalty to the dynasty of David that an ardent cavalier felt toward the chief representative of the house of Stuart. To Ezekiel there was but one legitimate dynasty and one legitimate priesthood. He pictures the restoration of Judah and of the dynasty of David at much greater length than in the passage of Jeremiah referred to (see Ezek. xxxiv. 23 f., xxxvii. 25). A detailed examination of Ezekiel's description of the restoration of Judah and Israel is unnecessary; it must suffice to say that the figures which are elaborated in the later apocalyptic style are undoubtedly used by Ezekiel of *temporal* prosperity. Ezekiel believed that the schism between Judah and Israel would be healed, and that the nation would have a king of the dynasty of David, and that as a result of good government under the legitimate king, all those blessings which we Anglicans know as "peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety" would come about in the land. These predictions of Ezekiel were probably composed before 573 B.C. at a time when he seems to have hoped that he himself would see the restoration. In 573 B.C., however, he had abandoned this hope and set himself to commit to writing ordinances for the worship at the Temple when the restoration should come.

Meanwhile, in the province of Samaria the Israelitising of those elements of the population which had been imported by successive kings of Assyria had been going on apace. A comparison of Deut. xvii. 14–20 with xxxiii. 13–17 shews that not only was there an expectation of the recovery of independence—of course through the hoped-for collapse of Babylon—but it was thought that the king of Palestine, after the recovery of independence, would be a native of central Palestine and *not* of Judah. It is most important to remember that this was the expectation in the province of Samaria, for it will explain the course of events after the appointment of

Zerubbabel as Governor of Judah. Zerubbabel, who was not only a grandson of a former king, but had also been indoctrinated with the rigid legitimist ideas of Ezekiel, expected that upon the disruption of Persia (which in the first year or two of the reign of Darius seemed not impossible) he would revive the kingdom of Solomon and reign over a united Israel. The prophet Zechariah, although he hoped that Zerubbabel would actually be king, counselled moderation, but Zerubbabel was a young man in a hurry, and his policy (which in two instances at least was strongly opposed by Zechariah), viz. the proposed fortification of Jerusalem and the attempt to get rid of the chief priest Joshua whom the Samaritans accepted, was bitterly resented by the inhabitants of Samaria, who had expected that the seat of government would be in their own province, and who had no desire to pay taxes to maintain a king of a dynasty which they loathed.

The result was political tension, a series of attempts to fortify Jerusalem by the inhabitants of Judah, and determined efforts by the Samaritans to thwart all such schemes. It was of course impossible for the Samaritans to accuse the Jerusalem people to the Persian Government without being compelled themselves for the present to abandon hope of independence. The tension between Samaria and Judah steadily increased until—probably between the years 460 and 455 B.C., when Persia was sore put to it to quell the revolt in Egypt—the Persian Government authorised the Governor of Samaria and others to raise native levies and attack Jerusalem, which had apparently just succeeded in completing its fortifications. *Politically* the break between Judah and Samaria was now absolute, though the Temple continued the sanctuary for Samaria for some years later.

Nehemiah perceived that any schemes to give Judah a native king would be courting disaster. Accepting therefore the rule of the Persian Empire, he aimed at

obtaining for the Jews a native ruler. Nehemiah had come from the eastern exile, where the Jews ever since the days of Ezekiel had been a Church rather than a nation in the midst of an alien and heathen population. This conception of Israel as a Church underlies the law of the Priestly Code, which Nehemiah, by high-handed action, succeeded in enforcing. The chief priest of the Temple who hitherto had been *primus inter pares* was exalted into a sort of pope, the people were encouraged to give up all expectation of a king and to accept as their real head and leader—the foreign domination being tacitly accepted—the high priest. Shortly after came the Samaritan secession from the Temple of Jerusalem, and all anticipation of a united Israel or of Israelite independence vanished. Under such circumstances the hope of a coming king who should be a restorer naturally was for a time forgotten.

From the time of Nehemiah the high priest seems to have held under the Persian Government a position not unlike that which in the Turkish Empire before the War was held by the Patriarch of Antioch.

In 332 B.C. Palestine passed under Macedonian rule, and though conditions were upon the whole happier than under Persia, the political situation was not such as to encourage ideas of Jewish independence. Under Ptolemaic rule the *status quo ante* was preserved, and also after the battle of Banias in 198 B.C., when Palestine passed under the rule of the house of Seleucus. But a division was growing in Judaism more serious even than the division between those who worshipped at Jerusalem and those who worshipped on Gerizim, that is to say, a division between those who wished to conform in all respects to the Law and those who in various degrees had been bitten by Hellenism. This is not the place to tell the story of the Maccabæan revolt; it must be remembered, however, that the opponents of Antiochus and of the Hellenisers were made up of two quite

distinct parties, who on many points did not see eye to eye—on the one hand the Hasmonæans and their partisans, and on the other the *Ḥasîdîm* (the Assidæans as our version calls them), who only demanded that they should be free to observe the Jewish Law.

In the book of Daniel we have a composition (or a compilation) dating from the early years of the struggle, i.e. between 168 and 165 B.C. Here there is no expectation of an anointed king. For the anointed one, who is also a prince, mentioned in Daniel ix is the high priest.

Whatever may have been the motives of the Hasmonæans (as distinct from the *Ḥasîdîm*) in the beginning of the struggle, their ambition grew with their success. They were absolutely unscrupulous, and cared not how deeply their hands might be stained, if they could only grasp the power which they coveted. About 152 B.C. Jonathan was allowed by Demetrius—who was opposed by Alexander Balas—to maintain a military force in Jerusalem. Jonathan then went over to the side of Balas, whom he induced to appoint him high priest, and two years later he was made Governor of Judæa under Balas. Between 148 and 145 B.C. he carried out for Balas a campaign in Philistia, but on the defeat of Balas he made terms with Demetrius II. A little later the Jews went over to the side of the son of Balas, and Simon was given the post of Governor of Palestine. Upon the murder of Jonathan by Tryphon Simon again made terms with Demetrius II, and in the year 143–142 B.C. the Seleucid Government granted the Jews complete immunity from taxation; on May 23 in the following year the Greek garrison surrendered and it was felt that the yoke of the heathen was broken.

At this time when virtual independence was actually won for the Jews, and in the years immediately preceding when the hope of it was continually growing, what was the general feeling in Palestine with reference

to the future ruler? Fortunately we can answer this question with a considerable amount of certainty, for we have compositions of this date emanating from various sections of the population. Thus in Zech. ix. 9, which is probably to be dated about 142 B.C. when virtual independence was in sight, we have an anticipation of a king; although the writer evidently has no definite person in view. He considers that he will be *righteous*—this would exclude those who had apostatised—that he will be delivered from his enemies by God, but that he will have nothing to do with militarism. It is thought that he will come not from the house of David, but from the ranks of the poor, that is from the section of the nation whose voice we so often hear in the Psalms. The writer believes that in his days, under his beneficent rule the blessing pronounced on Judah in Gen. xlix will at length be realised.

Similarly, Ps. xxi, which seems to be based on the promises represented as made to David and Solomon, anticipates a king, but does not identify him with any representative of the house of David, and the same is true of Ps. lxxii. But in certain other psalms, lxxxix, cxxii, cxxxii, it is evidently contemplated that only a member of the house of David can be king.

From Zech. xii. 7–xiii. 1 however we hear why it was that, when independence was gained, no descendant of the house of David was elected king. It is clear from Zech. xii. 10 that the house of David still held a foremost position among the aristocracy of Judah, but it is implied that they have been associated with the Hellenising apostates, and they are evidently regarded as implicated in the murder of the high priest Oniah. This author, however, believes that if their sin is publicly atoned for and expiated, a fountain will be opened to the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and uncleanness, whereupon the house of David shall be as God, and the angel of Jehovah before his people. This

sin of the house of David is not obscurely hinted at in Ps. lxxxix, but the psalmist believes that it need not invalidate their claim to the throne.

But it did not at all suit the ambitions of the Hasmonæans that the house of David should expiate their apostasy. There was not room in Jerusalem for a king of the house of David and a militant and aggressive high priest, any more than there is room in Rome for a King of Italy and a Pope-king. It is, I think, clear that the sin with which the house of David was charged was exploited by the ambitious Hasmonæans for their own ends, with the result that the family which as late as 141 B.C. was still head of the Jewish aristocracy little more than a century later had sunk to the status of the labouring classes. The partisans of the Hasmonæan high priests have given us their views in Pss. cx, cxv, cxxxv, cxlix.

It is clear that the Hasmonæan rule, and the combination of the offices of high priest and king were accepted by the *Ḥasîdîm* only with grave misgivings. They had already to some extent ceased to support the Hasmonæans at the time of the appointment of Alcimus about 162 B.C., and it is significant that, when Simon was regarded as high priest and governor in perpetuity, a condition was added, "the Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high priest for ever *until there should arise a faithful prophet*".

Civil government by clerics is not often a success, and the Hasmonæan kingship was no exception to the general rule. The successors of Hyrcanus who assumed the title of king were in fact so unutterably vile that no one with a particle of respect for religion could have desired the continuance of their rule. Indeed, in 63 B.C. an embassy from the Jewish people appealed to Pompey at Damascus to take away their kings. When Pompey gained possession of Jerusalem the high priest Hyrcanus made no opposition to his entrance into the

city, and indeed into the Holy of holies. The hopes of a new heaven and a new earth under the Hasmonæan high priestly kings had ended in bitter disillusionment. In despair men turned to the Scriptures to see what was their message, and they found hope in the old prediction of a king of the line of David—predictions which the Hasmonæans had brushed aside. The feelings of the better elements of the nation are expressed at this period in the so-called Psalms of Solomon, in which we see the conviction that only in a descendant of David can the ancient promises be fulfilled. "Thou, O Lord, didst choose David to be king over Israel, and didst swear unto him touching his seed for ever, that his kingdom should not fail before thee" (Ps. Sol. xvii. 5). Accordingly they looked for a son of David who would thrust out the sinners from the inheritance, and gather together a holy people whom he would lead in righteousness; who would not suffer iniquity to lodge in their midst, but would judge Jerusalem, and make it holy, even as it was in the days of old. So that the nations would come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, bringing as gifts the sons of Jerusalem that had fainted and would see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God had glorified her.

In the Psalms of Solomon we find substantially the Messianic hope which is indicated in the Gospels as existing among the pilgrims to the Passover in the days of our Lord.

There are, however, some other compositions which have been accounted as representing the Messianic idea, though the expectation is not of a Davidic king, and these must be briefly noticed.

In the apocalyptic allegory contained in Daniel vii the writer reviews from the standpoint of the Jewish *Ḥasîdîm* the world history affecting the Jews from the captivity of Judah under Nebuchadnezzar till his own time, with an anticipation of the glorious future for the

faithful in Israel. It is unnecessary to repeat the details of this allegory; it will be sufficient to state briefly that Daniel sees first four bestial forms representing respectively the empires of Babylon, Media, Persia and that of Alexander the Great and his successors in western Asia. Of these the last, "the little horn", is evidently Antiochus Epiphanes, who is described as making war on the saints and prevailing against them. Then the scene shifts from earth to heaven, and Daniel sees a heavenly court in which the Most High, Who is represented as the presiding judge, and is described as One ancient of days, gives sentence upon the beasts whose dominion is taken away. There then appears upon the scene, raised upon the clouds of heaven, a fifth allegorical figure, this time not a bestial form, but a *son of man*, i.e. according to the ordinary Aramaic idiom a human being, who is here contrasted with the bestial forms that have preceded him. To him is given dominion, glory and a kingdom, that all peoples, nations and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

This "son of man" is explained as typifying the "people of the saints of the Most High", that is evidently not all Israel, but that section of Israel which has remained faithful; and we have in unmistakable language teaching, which has its roots in early prophetic literature (e.g. Isaiah x. 5 ff.), that Israel, having been purged from its sin by suffering, will be lord over those who have been its oppressors. Although the scene in heaven represents the triumph of the "son of man" it is made clear, vii. 21, 25, that he has previously passed through great tribulation.

An exactly similar view of the discipline and destiny of Israel—stated in non-apocalyptic language—is found in those passages of the book of Isaiah which speak of the Servant of the Lord. There can be no question that

by the Servant *Israel* is meant: this is stated in terms so explicit that they cannot be explained away, and there is no indication anywhere in the Old Testament of an individual man being identified with Israel.

But though the Servant of the Lord represents Israel, it is not the whole Israel, but those who are true to the ideal of what Jehovah's own people should be. When these have passed through the discipline which God has ordained, they will not only accomplish the restoration of the Israelite nation—"raise up the tribes of Jacob and restore the preserved of Israel"—they will be a light to the Gentiles, that Jehovah's victory may extend to the ends of the earth: in plain English, the true Israel will be a means of removing from the Gentiles all darkness, i.e. wrong and oppression, and Jehovah through His people will reign over all the world.

This view is found also in Isaiah lx, the literary beauty of which is apt to make us forget the essentially un-Christian character of some of the anticipations expressed in it. Here that nation and that kingdom that will not serve Jehovah will perish and come to an end, and the sons of those that formerly afflicted Jerusalem will come cringing at her feet in utter humiliation.

A similar anticipation, more fiercely expressed, is found in Ps. ii.

Though of course we must make due allowances for the *hyperbole* in which Hebrew writers delight, it is evident that in the flush of the Maccabæan successes, people gave free rein to their imagination, and nothing seemed too good to be hoped for.

I have already pointed out how grievous a disillusionment came under the Hasmonæan kings, and how men turned back to the ancient Scriptures for some interpretation which would give them hope.

An instance of this has already been given in the book of Daniel. The writer of Daniel ix. 2 tells us that he understood *by the books* "the number of the years, whereof

the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, for the accomplishing of the desolations of Jerusalem, even seventy years". It seemed to him that the desolation of Jerusalem had lasted till his own time: and since he held that the Scriptures must be fulfilled, he was driven to try to reconcile the "seventy years" which Jeremiah had mentioned with the actual period, which was in reality 429 or 418 years, according as the *terminus a quo* is taken to be the captivity of Jehoiakim or that of Zedekiah, and which the author of Daniel supposes to be nearly half a millennium. The writer's chronology was faulty, but, as we know from Josephus, the Jews had no correct knowledge of the exact length of the period from Nehemiah to Alexander. Josephus shortens it incorrectly and the writer of Daniel lengthens it.

How Jeremiah's seventy years were to be reconciled with facts was the problem which confronted the author of Daniel. He solved it to his own satisfaction by supposing that the seventy years were not seventy continuous years but seventy sabbatical years (see Lev. xxv), i.e. seven times seventy years.

This system of interpretation, which is not yet obsolete in certain circles, credits Jeremiah with—to put it mildly—a disingenuous mode of speech. As though one were to promise to do a certain thing after ten Sundays, and ten weeks later, when called upon to fulfil the engagement, pleaded that he meant ten Easter Sundays!

But however preposterous these and similar systems of interpretation may seem to us, they were evidently not so regarded in the second century B.C. and we can imagine the sort of mind which men brought to the study not only of the earlier Scriptures such as Jeremiah, but the latest, such as Daniel. One thing seemed certain in the tarrying of the looked-for triumph of God and His people. The gifts and calling of God were without repentance. The vision of the Son of man which Daniel

had seen must be realised—even though it seemed difficult to equate this Son of man with any section of Israel. In the parables of the book of Enoch we have an anticipation of the future based upon Daniel vii interpreted in the light of the prophetic Scriptures. And since in these parables we find much which resembles some passages of the New Testament, we must be particularly careful to inquire whether in the first century B.C. those who first read them would have put on them the meaning which suggests itself to Christian readers of the New Testament. Thus we read (Enoch xlviii. 3), "Yea, before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of the heaven were made, His name (i.e. the name of the Son of man) was named before the Lord of Spirits". But this does *not* assert the pre-existence of the Son of man, but that the Son of man whom Daniel had seen was part and parcel of the purpose of God from the creation. In like manner in the Apocalypse (xiii. 8) the Lamb is said to have been "slain from the foundation of the world". The writer in putting back the slaughter of the Lamb to the foundation of the world means that it was part and parcel of God's purpose then determined. And even if one connects the words "from the foundation of the world" not with the Lamb slain, but with the words "written in the book of life" (cf. xvii. 8) the argument is not affected, for the writer certainly did not mean to suggest that those whose name had not been written in the book of life from the foundation of the world had ever existed prior to their birth in this life.

Similarly Enoch xlviii. 6 (cf. lxii. 6 ff.), "For this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before him, before the creation of the world and for evermore", finds illustration in Rom. xvi. 25 in which it is said that the mystery (sc. of the abolition of the distinction between Jews and Gentiles) had been kept secret through times eternal—before there were either Jews or Gentiles!

Since Enoch (chap. lxx) is represented as exalted to the Lord of Spirits and the Son of man, it has been argued that the author believed the Son of man to have had a heavenly existence before his manifestation to the earth. But whatever inferences were drawn from this and similar passages by later writers, we need not necessarily suppose that the author himself either believed in or wished to imply the pre-existence of the Son of man. Allowance must be made for the exigencies of allegory and parable, and the choice of an ante-diluvian patriarch as an exponent of God's purpose required that this purpose should be visibly set before him. In somewhat similar fashion the author of Exodus xxv. 40 represents the archetype of the Tabernacle as visibly shewn (מראה) to Moses and therefore as existing on the holy mountain.

But though it is probable that for the *original* historical interpretation of the Parables of Enoch we should minimise rather than exaggerate the representation of the Son of man, it is certain that the writer, though inspired by Daniel vii, has made a considerable advance upon what is there expressed. The "Son of man" no longer is a type of the people of the saints of the Most High as in Daniel vii, but is distinguished from the congregation of the righteous as their leader and deliverer, and what is predicated of the Son of man in Daniel and of the Servant of the Lord in Isaiah is transferred to him together with attributes formerly ascribed to the hoped-for Davidic king. Thus he is called the "Righteous One", xxxviii. 2, liii. 6: the "Elect One", xxxix. 6, xl. 5, xlv. 3, xlix. 2, 4, li. 3, 5, lii. 6, 9, liii. 6, lxi. 5, 8, 10, lxii. 1. This description is taken probably from Isaiah xlii. 1 (cf. xli. 8, 9, xliii. 20, xlv. 4, xlviii. 10, lxv. 9, 15, 22) and is an example of the transference to an individual of what has previously been predicated of a nation or section of a nation such as is found in the transference to Israel's ruler of the

title "son of God" originally applied to Israel as a nation (Ps. ii. 7, lxxxix. 27). In Enoch xlviii. 10, lii. 4, the "Son of man" is also called "the Anointed", i.e. the Messiah. It is not clear whence the writer of the Parables of Enoch derived this name. It *may* have been from Isaiah lxi. 1, a passage which, though the "Servant of the Lord" seems to be the speaker, is distinct from the other "Servant" passages, and may be worked up from older material or from Dan. ix. 25. If the title "the Anointed" had been borrowed from the Psalms we should have expected it to be associated with the word *King*.

It is not easy to discover exactly what the writer of the Parables of Enoch meant to be understood by the Son of man. We seem to have in some passages an approximation to the Christian conception of Christ; but it must never be forgotten that we are dealing with the utterances of men whose Church possessed no creed—Pharisees and Sadducees being alike orthodox members of it—and who thought in parables. It may be doubted whether, if the author had been asked to state in plain language what he expected, he could have given any answer which we should call definite.

How far did the ideas of the book of Enoch influence Jewish thought in the days of our Lord? There is no indication of any such influence in the expectation of a Son of David who would restore the kingdom to Israel. Although the phraseology of the book of Enoch may have influenced the written gospels, it is probable that our Lord in referring to the Son of man was quoting Daniel, and not Enoch—though since some of the book of Enoch was written in northern Galilee it was probably known to Him and to His disciples.

But the question put to our Lord by the high priest, "Art thou the Christ the son of the Blessed?" founded as it is on Old Testament Scriptures (cf. Pss. ii, lxxxix), calls forth from Him, according to S. Mark, the

answer, "I am: and ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven." What part of this answer did the high priest hold to be blasphemous? We must consider the matter not from the point of view of modern Christians, but from that of Sadducees. And here it is to be noted that a few years later S. Stephen was brought before the high priest on a charge similar to that on which our Lord was condemned—viz. blasphemy—inasmuch as he, S. Stephen, had denied, whether explicitly or implicitly, the absolute and final authority of the Levitical law on which were based the Sadducæan claims that the Temple was the exclusive place of God's manifestation and that the Levitical priests alone were competent to exercise sacerdotal authority.

It is highly significant, in the light of S. Stephen's trial, that an attempt was made (unsuccessfully through failure to secure complete agreement between two witnesses) to convict our Lord of having said, "I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands" (S. Mark xiv. 58). Evidently it was the alleged desire to destroy the Temple which constituted the blasphemy or sacrilege: the alleged intention to rebuild the Temple without human agency might indeed have been held evidence of sorcery (cf. S. Mark iii. 22), but there is no hint of any attempt to convict our Lord on such a charge.

Certainly the latter part of our Lord's reply to the high priest, which predicts a speedy fulfilment of Daniel vii. 13 f. (cf. Ps. cx. 1) could not in itself be interpreted as blasphemous; neither the book of Daniel nor Psalm cx expresses any disparagement of the Temple or its priesthood. But the claim of a *layman* to be the Messiah the Son of the Blessed (see on Pss. ii, lxxxix) was in itself a challenge to the Sadducæan

doctrine concerning the Temple and its ministers. Sadducæan priests, who would have nothing to do with any kingdom of David, and who so far as they held any belief in a Messiah probably expected that he would arise from the Aaronite priesthood (cf. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. ii, p. 785) would view with horror a suggestion that the high priest would be superseded by one who according to the Levitical law had no right to go up to the altar, much less to enter the holy of holies; and in their eyes such a suggestion would seem to undermine the authority of Moses and this in itself would be blasphemy (cf. Acts vi. 13; see also Dan. iii. 29 (Th.), 1 Macc. ii. 6, 2 Macc. viii. 4, ix. 28).

In view of the language of Pss. ii. 7, lxxxix. 26 f. (cf. Ps. lxxxvii. 4–6, Mal. i. 6, ii. 10) it is scarcely probable that the claim of a man to be "son of God" would in itself have been held to be blasphemous by the Sadducees, provided that the claimant did not in any way offend their beliefs concerning the Law, the Temple and the Priesthood. But the Sadducæan priests rightly recognised a truth which Christians have been far too slow to admit, viz. that it is impossible to reconcile the teaching of Jesus with the Law *interpreted according to its historical meaning*. The assertion that all meats are clean, and that meat cannot in itself defile a man sets aside the authority of such passages as Lev. xi, xx. 25, Deut. xiv; the ideal that the Temple should be a house of prayer for all the nations is at variance with Sadducæan principles as set forth by Ezekiel (xliv. 6 ff.; cf. Gen. xvii. 13, Ex. xii. 43 ff.; and finally the prediction of the ruin of the Temple (S. Mark xiii. 2), even though the ritual requirements of the Law were punctiliously observed, notwithstanding the precedent of Micah, would seem to throw doubt on the sacrosanct character of the Temple and of Jehovah's choice of it for His dwelling.

We who have been brought up in Gentile Christianity find it hard to put ourselves into the place of those who had been educated either in Sadducæan principles of religion or in the exclusive pride of race engendered by Jewish nationalism. If however we were more just both to Sadducees and Pharisees we should be more likely to avoid the errors into which they fell. Let us refrain from interpreting such phrases as "the throne of David" or "the house of Jacob" in a sense which no Old Testament writer and no Jew of our Lord's generation would have dreamed of attaching to them, and in the Jesus of history Who has taught us to pray, "Our Father", we shall see in a greater degree the revelation of God.

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